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One hand on Scythia, th' other on the More"—SPENSER

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Asiatic Quarterly Review.

JANUARY, 1890.

THE NATIVE PRINCES OF INDIA.

THE paper which I read on the 18th June last at the Royal Colonial Institute, on "The Native Princes of India and Their Relations with the British Government," has attracted so much attention, both in this country and in India, and the opinions expressed in it have been so hotly criticized by persons interested in disproving their correctness, that I think it may be well very briefly to explain and make clear such of my remarks as may have been unintentionally misrepresented or misunderstood.

I would leave altogether aside, as undeserving of reply, the abusive and illogical criticisms of the Native Press of Bengal, which at no time is worthy of serious attention, and I would first refer to the most prominent article in the *Nineteenth Century Review* for October last, headed "The Attack on the Native States of India," in which Mehdi Ali, Mohsin-ul-Mulk, one of the highest officials of the Hyderabad State, attempts to defend the Nizam's administration against the strictures which he assumes are directed against it in my lecture. I am much obliged to the distinguished writer, or inspirer of this article (for Mehdi Ali is not sufficiently acquainted with English to write an article in that language himself) for the courteous and complimentary manner in

which he refers to me ; but I would nevertheless observe that his article is entirely beside the issue ; it replies to none of the real points of my lecture, and is obviously a mere peg on which to hang somewhat extravagant praise of the Hyderabad administration, a subject hardly touched upon in my lecture. As applicable to other Native States than Hyderabad, the Nawab considers my criticisms generally correct. The only apparent mistake which Nawab Mehdi Ali has succeeded in discovering is my somewhat careless remark that the employment of Europeans was not prohibited in Hyderabad as in the other Native States of India; and this may be explained by the fact that the lecture was not, as my critic declares, the subject of long preparation, but was dictated in shorthand to my secretary a few days before it was delivered, with no time for any but the most hasty revision. The inaccuracy was, however, merely formal, and is unimportant. I intended to convey that the prohibition against the employment of Europeans in the Hyderabad State was practically free and unrestricted, and in spite of the Nawab's protest I affirm that this has generally been the case. Hyderabad was so powerful, and the Government of India so disinclined, like most Governments, to grasp nettles boldly, that the provisions of the treaty forbidding the employment of Europeans were very feebly enforced. This was admitted by the Political Secretary of the India Office, Sir Edward Bradford, during the inquiry into the Deccan mining concession. His evidence is on record in the Blue Book, and is to the effect that, asked by Sir Richard Temple, if it was not the fact that the Nizam is prohibited from employing any European in his service without the consent of the Government of India, Sir Edward Bradford did not think that there was any prohibition in practice, though he admitted that there was a treaty provision of 1798 requiring that the permission of the British Government should previously be obtained. So much for the only point of importance in which a supposed oversight is charged against me.

I am glad to hear that, in the opinion of the Nawab, so many of the European or half-caste employés of the Nizam are men of character and ability ; and I am also pleased to understand that so many reforms have been introduced into the administration of the Hyderabad State. I am not in a position to question the accuracy of the details brought forward by the Minister, even had I any inclination to do so, and it would be especially ungenerous to attempt to discount the praise which he showers upon his young master the Nizam. At the same time I may observe that I have seen a good deal of the official reports drawn up by English educated natives in the headquarter offices of native States ; and I have by long and bitter experience learnt to place very little reliance on the facts and figures therein recorded. Out of the great State of Gwalior I never extracted an administration report ; but those of Indore and Bhopal were as absolute works of fiction as anything which has ever proceeded from the pens of Ouida or Dumas. I hope that Hyderabad is an exception, though I do not remember to have seen any successors to the very elaborate and voluminous report which was prepared, if I remember right, in the first year of the administration of Sir Salar Jung the younger, and forwarded to me by that amiable but debauched and incompetent Minister. Official explanations and justifications are not particularly notorious for lucidity or straightforwardness even in England ; and certainly the Indian apologist of a practically absolute State cannot expect more than a polite attention for his statements. I have had the privilege of intimate friendship with some of the most distinguished native Ministers in India, who have in the confidence of my private room told me with the utmost frankness the secret history of the State they tried honestly and, too often, vainly to serve ; but I have never known one, except the Honourable Rajah Sir Dinkar Rao, who had the courage to tell either his master or the English Government the delinquencies of his Prince and the scandals of his adminis-

tration. Sir Dinkar Rao was a man of extraordinary courage and independence, and his frankness won him the bitter hatred of his master, the Maharajah Sindhia, and his expulsion from office, although the masterly conduct of the Minister undoubtedly saved the Gwalior State to the house of Sindhia during the troubles of the Indian Mutiny. My recorded opinions of the maladministration of the majority of the native States of India are entirely in accord with those of Rajah Sir Dinkar Rao, who indeed is more unsparing in his condemnation than I have ever been.

Why I assert that the article of Nawab Mehdi Ali in the *Nineteenth Century Review* is irrelevant and beside the point, is that I recorded that I had no official knowledge of the Hyderabad State, though I had been offered the appointment of Resident by Lord Dufferin; and my remarks concerning it were accordingly of the most brief and general character; and to suggest that I was specially referring to Hyderabad in my allusion to the "foolish and cowardly tolerance of treason" is mere trifling; as the construction of the sentence shows that the remark was intended to refer to all native States and British India, collectively, and not to Hyderabad in particular; though the Foreign Office of the Government of India will have no difficulty in picking out individuals to whom the sentence will most surely apply. Nawab Mehdi Ali says that he scarcely supposed that I would bring so grave a charge against the so-called National Congress. My opinion on the National Congress has been recorded on many occasions with the utmost freedom, and there is no occasion to repeat it in detail. I would, however, clearly state, that when I said in my lecture that "the only danger to the permanence of British power in India was the foolish and cowardly tolerance of treason," I had in my mind first the ex-Nawab Sadik Hassan of Bhopal, who was seriously warned by Lord Ripon's Government for his treasonable practices, and who was degraded and removed from office by that of Lord Dufferin, and whom it would be criminal weakness on the part of the Indian

Foreign Office to restore to any part of the power he so grossly abused, and, secondly, many of the leaders of the *soi-disant* National Congress, who are distinctly disloyal in their actions, in their writings, and in their speeches. If the British public wishes an example of the loyalty of the wirepullers of the "National" party in Calcutta, I would refer them to the *Times* of this morning (December 9th), and the whole paragraph may with advantage be extracted :—

A public meeting was held in Calcutta on Friday to pass resolutions in reference to the Prince's intended visit to the metropolis. The Lieutenant-Governor presided. The meeting was very representative in character and was attended by the Chief Justice, the members of Council, and other leading members of the European and native communities. Unfortunately, however, for the success and harmony of the meeting the town-hall was closely packed with some 2,000 Bengalee college students. These ill-mannered and unruly youths, acting under the leadership of certain native newspaper editors, who have rendered themselves notorious by their attitude of political opposition to the constituted authority, not only by preconceived demonstration rendered the speeches inaudible, but succeeded in carrying an amendment over the Lieutenant-Governor's head which completely invalidated and rendered futile the objects of the meeting. The Lieutenant-Governor was compelled to dismiss, with purposes unfulfilled, a large assembly of responsible citizens, all most anxious to demonstrate their loyalty to the Throne, for the sole reason that a large number of undisciplined college students, drunk with the new wine of congress ideas, and none of whom could or would have subscribed a rupee, were employed by political wirepullers to defeat and discredit, by sheer force of numbers, the loyal endeavours of the ratepaying community to pay fitting honour to the Queen's grandson.

The leading native paper criticizes in severe terms what can only be considered, however, as the natural result of its own political preaching. The article concludes with these words :—"The whole thing is most unfortunate and severely reflects on the reputation of Calcutta. We have never had a greater scandal." This condemnation is emphatically endorsed by every native of respectable position ; but, unfortunate as is this fiasco at such a time, it may possibly lead to useful results both in England and in India. It is a revelation and a lesson, and by its salutary warning will probably operate as a valuable aid in securing united action by all the property classes of the community of every race and creed in resisting with united front the rapidly increasing growth of Socialistic doctrines.

• The present case merely affronts the decencies of ordinary public life, but, if by large and improvident concessions of electoral and political power, this present insubordinate and obstructive spirit were clothed with any control over the Government policy, the administration of the

country might be brought to a serious deadlock. This incident will serve as a useful text for discussion at the forthcoming congress meeting at Bombay.

No doubt, when the National Congress meets at Bombay, it will do its best to minimise the insolent disloyalty of the incident above recorded, and, under the distinguished auspices of Mr. Bradlaugh, will offer lip-homage to the Queen, while doing everything to undermine and destroy her Indian Government. But Englishmen may rest assured that the insult was the direct outcome of the teaching of the disloyal Bengal party, who will give as much trouble to the British Government in India as the Nationalist party has done in Ireland, until it is summarily extinguished by methods which will be eminently disagreeable to the noisy and foolish persons whom kindness and generosity cannot civilise, and for whom the only instruction sufficiently drastic would be the flogging-block.

With regard to the loyalty of the majority of the native Princes to the British Government, no one who is intimately acquainted with them can entertain reasonable doubt; and no one has asserted the existence of this spirit of attachment to the British Government and loyalty to the Crown more constantly or more energetically than myself on the platform, in the *Times*, in the *Fortnightly Review*, and in numerous articles in the *ASIATIC QUARTERLY*. Those Princes who view the Government with ill-will or suspicion, are well known to the Indian Foreign Office. They have of late years grown few in numbers, as the bitter memories of former annexation and conflict have died away, and the only disloyal chiefs of any political importance, and whom it is needless to name, have some time ago passed away.

This attachment to the ruling power on the part of the native Princes of India, founded as it is on an intelligent self-interest, will stand all ordinary tests; and if in some cases it should dissolve in the presence of an especially fierce temptation or disaster to the Paramount Power, no

reflecting person need be surprised. The attachment of an alien race must have its roots in selfishness; and, born of past favours, it is nourished by their constant renewal and the hope of future benefit. Let us wisely be satisfied with this amount of loyalty, and not, like idle dreamers, weary ourselves in seeking the existence of an impossible sentiment in the Indian people. I am quite aware, and have always maintained, that there has been a constant improvement in the methods and administration of the native Princes. They have, to a certain extent, been quickened by the leaven of English example, which has wrought so many changes in British India; and the English education which we have given them, although the seed has often fallen on stony ground, or among thorns, still gives them a shame-faced desire to improve their unwieldy or barbarous systems by imitation of the administrative method of the Central Government. But the description of their existing methods which I have given, not only in my lecture before the Royal Colonial Institute, but in numerous papers, I see no reason to change in any particular, and it is unfortunate for India when persons in high position think to please everyone by saying soft things and by painting in rose-colour all the dark places of Indian administration. This was done conspicuously by Lord Dufferin when, on a recent occasion, he was offered a banquet by the London Chamber of Commerce. Speaking of the maladministration of the Kashmir State, which has resulted in the virtual deposition of the Maharajah, Lord Dufferin proceeds as follows:—

“However anxious and determined the Government may be to abstain from all unnecessary interference with the heads of the several States in India, and indeed to remain passive, even when their conduct of affairs falls very far short of the desired standard, still there is a point of misconduct and maladministration—implying as it does the permanent ruin of the finances of the State, and the consequent misery and oppression of its people—beyond which absolutely bad government cannot be permitted. (Cheers.) This point had not only been reached, but had been passed in the case of the Maharajah of Kashmir; but, at all events, we had the satisfaction of knowing that the incident in question was an exceptional one; for, although in every category of human beings certain unworthy members

may be found, I have no hesitation in saying that, as a body, the present generation of the Princes of India will compare favourably, both as regards their intelligence, their activity, and their desire to do, their duty, even with the general run of the Sovereigns of Europe. (Cheers.) It would, of course, be invidious for me to cite instances or individual names; but, were it not for that consideration, I could mention half-a-dozen young and promising rulers, each one of whom is actuated by the most earnest desire to do his duty, and is as equally distinguished by the purity and high moral character of his domestic life as by his industry, his intelligence, and his public spirit. (Hear, hear.) Indeed, not only are we anxious and thankful to be able to transfer a considerable portion of the enormous burden of our administrative responsibilities upon the ruling Princes of India; but the whole tendency of the Indian Government is to decentralize as much as it can, and to interfere as little as possible either with the native States, or with the provincial Governments in the management of their own affairs."

These statements of Lord Dufferin attracted, as they deserved, considerable attention, and one, at least, of them seemed at variance with the opinion of the general character of native administration given in my lecture before the Colonial Institute. The *St. James's Gazette*, among other papers of influence, observed in a leading article the following day: "It is gratifying to find that Lord Dufferin can entirely exonerate the feudatories of the Empire as a whole from the sweeping charges brought against them by Sir Lepel Griffin." I would only observe, with reference to Lord Dufferin's optimist view, that it will not be shared by those who have the most practical knowledge of Indian administration; and, if this statement be doubted, I would refer the incredulous to the recent work on India by Sir John Strachey, G.C.S.I., an official of the highest character, and the most distinguished ability, and whose knowledge of the different Native States is necessarily greater than that of any Viceroy could possibly be. His opinion will be found to be virtually identical with my own. A Viceroy, although he has, during his short term of office, exceptional opportunities of becoming acquainted with the general outline of Indian politics, is incapacitated, from the greatness and isolation of his position, from the ceremony which surrounds him, and from the mass of multifarious work which falls to his share in

every department, from obtaining any intimate knowledge of the detail of such a subject as the practical administration of Native States. He sees the Chiefs on their good behaviour, visiting him in state at Simla or Calcutta, or himself paying them ceremonial visits at their capitals, where he is received with the theatrical rejoicing which has the same relation to the incidents of every day as the stage peasants at a theatre resemble the toilers of real life. The young chiefs who can speak English and play tennis and polo naturally attract his most favourable attention, and he is apt to consider them most admirable specimens of the success of English training, when, in reality, they may be, and often are, the most lazy and incompetent, and the most out of sympathy with their own fellow-countrymen.

Of the dark secrets of the prison-house and the methods employed by Native States in the collection of revenue and the repression, or, more generally, the encouragement and protection of crime, the Viceroy can know little ; and the Indian Foreign Office does not desire to know, for it is always ready to shut its eyes to maladministration, until it reaches such a pitch that it becomes a grave public scandal. What Lord Dufferin means by saying " We are anxious and thankful to be able to transfer a considerable portion of the enormous burden of our administrative responsibilities upon the Princes and Rulers of India " it is difficult to imagine, for, within this generation, I am not aware of any administrative responsibilities having been transferred to the Princes, who merely inherit the powers and duties which have descended to them from their forefathers. Any action has been in the direction of the limitation, and not the increase, of their responsibilities, and the Government will be very ill-advised if it contemplates such a transfer as that suggested by Lord Dufferin.

But the statement to which exception must chiefly be taken is that, " as a body, the present generation of the Princes of India will compare favourably, both as regards their intelligence, their activity, and their desire to do their duty, even

with the general run of the Sovereigns of Europe." This statement, in the mouth of an ex-Viceroy, cannot be passed without criticism, even occurring in an after-dinner speech by an eloquent, accomplished, and generous Irishman, who has always been known to invest the dull routine of official life with the charm and romance of imagination: Lord Dufferin has certainly had excellent opportunities of estimating the worth and character of many of the Sovereigns of Europe, and he has apparently formed a very low opinion of them. Nevertheless, his comparison is misleading and opposed to fact; and it would have been more correct to have observed that, were the administration of nine out of ten Native States introduced in the most backward country of Europe, the ruler would be expelled in a fortnight by a popular rising. I see no advantage in trying to make the worse appear the better part, and evil good and darkness light. The responsibility of England for the administration of the Native States of India is direct, and it cannot be evaded by any statements about the impolicy of interfering with Native Governments and the virtues of certain members of a numerous class.

The Princes of India, one and all, derive their authority from the British Government, and the obligation of seeing that the power confided to them is not abused, and their subjects are not oppressed, is an onerous one. I know a good many Princes whose characters are high, and who are actuated by a sincere desire to benefit their people; and I have little doubt but that Lord Dufferin's list of such Chiefs would very nearly correspond with my own. I held an important political charge under him throughout his administration, and on every occasion on which I had to bring before him proposals for the reform of the abuses of Native States I received from him unvarying confidence and support. I am thus disposed to believe that his real opinions agree with mine, and that the optimist expressions of his speech were merely intended to gratify an uninstructed audience.

It is to me a matter of sincere regret that I have appeared, to the less discerning of my critics, to take part against the

Princes of India, many of whom are my intimate friends, the histories of many of whom I have written, and whose rights I have championed on every occasion when it was possible to do so. It is not that I love the Princes of India less, but that I love the people more ; and having lived for many years in Native States, and had much to do with the administration of their affairs, I have, with the great majority of political officers in the Government Service, been disgusted with the apathy of the Indian Foreign Office, which seems heedless of the grievances of the people, if only a native Prince can be prevented from protesting against the righteous interference which saves his country. Unnecessary interference with Native States is to be deprecated ; but the Indian Government should take less thought of newspaper attacks and the criticisms of ill-informed Members of Parliament, and should not attempt the rôle of an earthly Providence by showering its favours indifferently on the just and the unjust.

LEPEL GRIFFIN.

THE MODEL MISSIONARY IN CHINA.

As a resident of some twenty years in various parts of China, I have had many opportunities of observing the different methods adopted by missionaries in their efforts to commend Christianity to the acceptance of the Chinese people. My attitude is therefore that of a critic, though a friendly critic ; and the remarks I have now to offer will consequently fall into two categories—praise and blame. *Quot homines, tot sententiæ.* Where several methods of enforcing the same, or substantially the same, truths are in vogue, it stands to reason that all cannot be the best ; some must be better, some worse ; and in the present paper it will be my object to point out what I believe to be some of the more serious defects in missionary enterprise as at present carried out in China.

Now one specially favourite feature in many missionary reports is a statement of how many Bibles, Testaments, and Gospels have been distributed broadcast among the Chinese people during the period under review. Here is my first point of attack. I believe that the indiscriminate diffusion of the Christian Scriptures among any non-Christian population is in most cases entirely useless, in many cases absolutely mischievous. And this, broadly, for two reasons. In the first place, the Bible contains many stories and many precepts which, apart from careful and judicious annotation, are revolting to the moral instincts of the Chinese. In the second place, it contains much that is simply Greek to them. Christianity, considered as a philosophy,—indeed, with regard to the intricacies of Pauline theology, we may almost say a science,—has a terminology of its own ; and that terminology is simply unmeaning to the uninstructed Chinese mind.

Let us take this second point first. Supposing that some highly educated and enthusiastic Buddhist were to arrive in England, bent on converting the English nation to a belief in Buddha, the Law, and the Church. Well, he goes into some country district, enters into conversation with a group of navvies and agricultural labourers, and presents them (if he cannot induce them to buy) with some translations of a Cinghalese Life of Buddha, and a few Buddhist sūtras. They open their books, and light upon some such phrase as this: "Nirvana may be defined as that sort of non-existence which consists in the absence of something essentially different from itself;" or, "If there be one who speaks of the true Tathagata as going or coming, sitting or sleeping, that man is ignorant of the secret of the system which I declare." What would be the impression made upon the minds of our labourers by such passages as these? It is saying very little to affirm that the men would be first bewildered, then contemptuous, and finally indifferent.

Now take the case of our own Scriptures, when presented in a similar manner to a Chinese coolie. "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou canst not tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth; so is every one that is born of the Spirit." Is not such a sentence as that, in the ears of an ignorant peasant in some out-of-the-way village in Shantung, the purest rodomontade? To him, living his arduous, simple, materialistic life, it means absolutely nothing; or, if he attempted to read a meaning into it, his exegesis could scarcely fail to provoke a smile on the part of anybody with the faintest sense of humour. One day, many years ago, I saw my own servant reading a Chinese translation of the New Testament. I looked over his shoulder, and found that the passage was the 3rd of John,—giving the conversation of Christ with Nicodemus. "Well, Chang'rh," I said, "do you understand what you're reading?" Less modest, or less honest, than the eunuch of Queen Candace, he promptly replied that he did. "And what does being 'born again' mean?" I asked. "It means coming to life again in some other shape when you die," was

the boy's answer ; and his answer was a perfectly reasonable one. A good woman looks forward to being born again as a man ; a bad person of either sex dreads being born again as a beggar, or one of the inferior animals ; and what more natural than that this Chinaman should read into a passage at once novel and obscure a meaning with which both he and all his countrymen had been familiar all their lives ? Nor is it only the lower classes of the Chinese people to whom the terminology of the Bible is incomprehensible. A missionary was once going on a business matter from one town to another, expecting to return in about a week. Before he set off, a young mandarin, who had been of considerable assistance to him in his affairs, said, "I wish you would leave one of your New Testaments behind you. I have never seen one, and I should like to read it." The missionary of course complied, and started on his journey. At the end of a week he returned. "Well," said the mandarin, after the first greetings were over, "I have read that book of yours three times through ; and I can make neither end nor side of it !"

And now a word or two upon my first objection, which may probably have sounded somewhat startling. It is nevertheless a fact that there are precepts in the Bible, issuing too from the very highest source, which amount to little short of blasphemy in the ears of a moral and pious Confucianist. All educated persons are aware of the unrivalled position held in China, among human virtues, by Filial Piety ; but it is difficult to realise fully all it means or all that it entails. A man's parents have, in relation to him, a quasi-divine character. "Why go to the temple ?" asks a popular proverb ; "have you not two deities to serve at home ?" It is scarcely too much to say that Chinese children "worship" their parents ; that the highest honours are bestowed by the Emperor himself upon filial sons and filial daughters, however lowly their station in life ; that the most horrible punishments are inflicted upon those who curse, or injure, or disobey their parents ; that the unfilial son is

The Model Missionary in China.

regarded as a type of infamy, and the dutiful son or daughter as deserving a reward not unlike the Western process of canonisation. Think, then, with what a shock of indignant horror and disgust a pious Confucianist must read, as a saying of Christ Himself, that the man who does not hate his father and mother for His sake is not worthy of Him ; or that when a man marries his duty is to abandon his father and mother in order that he may cleave unto his wife ! Why, it is one of the signs of a viciously-disposed person, in China, that he pays attention to what his wife says in preference to listening to the counsels of his parents ; indeed, while his parents live his place is under their roof—wife and all—and his first duty is towards them. I need not enter more fully into this part of the subject, nor will I venture upon the debatable ground of Old Testament narratives and their ethical significance. All I want to do is to urge the fatal inadvisability, to use no stronger term, of scattering Bibles broadcast over the length and breadth of China. They are misunderstood, they are not valued, and very often they are not read. They are frequently given to the children to play with, and torn scraps of them may be seen adding to the general dirt and mess of the street-gutters, unless, indeed, they fall into more thrifty hands, when, as I have heard, they are used by Chinese shoemakers to line boots with. Of course there are more fortunate instances in which the Bible or the Gospel has been read, has awakened interest, and has so paved the way for the next missionary who should pass by. But such cases are not, I believe, sufficiently numerous to justify the practice I condemn. The Gospels may attract by the inherent beauty of the stories they contain, in spite of the strange, hard sayings by which, as a Chinese would consider, they are defaced ; but the involved and closely-reasoned disquisitions of St. Paul, not much less than the lurid visions of Ezekiel, the wailings and threatenings of the minor prophets, and the perfervid imagery—if it be imagery—of the Song of Solomon, are, each in its way, calculated

to leave an impression on the Chinese mind almost the exact reverse of what the distributor intended to produce.

There is yet another fact which militates against the comprehension, by the Chinese, of Biblical terminology ; I mean the natural difficulty that exists of reproducing Biblical ideas in the language of a people to whom those ideas are in many instances absolutely new and foreign. I do not intend for a moment to throw any reflection upon the existing Chinese versions of the Scriptures. Nothing could be worthier of respect than the labour and the scholarship expended by missionaries upon the work of translation. But when we have to acknowledge, as we must, the faultiness of our own Authorised Version in many passages, the grave misapprehensions to which such faultiness has led among ourselves, and the obscurities which have resulted in the English text from an imperfect acquaintance on the part of our translators with the mental processes and local associations of the speakers with whose words they were dealing, it is no matter for surprise if an effort to array these unfamiliar ideas in a Chinese garb should result in want of clearness. I will, however, not press this point any further. The considerations I have urged are already felt by many missionaries, and we must trust to time and experience to bring about the full reforms which I believe are necessary.

The second matter to which I wish to draw attention is one of at least equal importance: it is the attitude which ought to be assumed by the Christian missionary towards the existing faiths of the people. I remember, when quite a child, reading some foolish book, which professed to tell children about the religions of non-Christian nations. I cannot profess to recall the exact words used by the eminent author I refer to, but they were something as absurd as this : "The founder of Taoism was a very wicked man. He taught the Chinese to behave like devils. Buddha told them there was no God. You see he was even worse than the other!" And it is possible that, when that was written, it represented, in a crude and puerile form, the attitude of orthodoxy

towards the great religions of the East. We have learned better since. We know that the founder of Taoism was a gentle and unworldly sage, who preached a lofty asceticism, and a pure philosophy based on quietism and conformity with Nature. We know that Buddha was the first from whom the earthly-minded and materialistic Chinaman heard of self-sacrifice for the good of others, that he was a man the story of whose pure and lovely life swept a chord that had been left untouched by the cold precepts of Confucius. We know that, while Confucius taught one version of the Golden Rule, the founder of Taoism inculcated the still sublimer maxim to return good for evil. We know that, earthbound as the Confucian system is, it is, as far as it goes, absolutely pure and moral; we know, too, that the same high character can be accorded to the accepted cosmogony of the Chinese—in which it stands in honourable contrast to other cosmogonies that might be named; and we know, finally, that long before the appearance of Confucius there existed in China the worship of one all-powerful and Supreme God, the relics of which survive in the Imperial Worship of to-day. What, then, I ask, ought the attitude of the Christian missionary to be towards such faiths as these? Well, if they existed in their pure and original form, there could be but one reply—admiration and respect. But unfortunately they have deteriorated beyond redemption. In Taoism, a philosophy as pure as Alpine atmosphere has degenerated into a vulgar and quasi-religious system of imposture, which commands neither influence over the people nor respect from them. Nor can very much be said for the popular Buddhism of to-day; it, too, has fallen from its high estate, and of modern Buddhist monks eight out of ten are ignorant and lazy debauchees. Against all, therefore, that is degenerate, impure, and demoralising in these two systems the missionary should—~~must~~—set his face. There need be no controversy about this. Immorality and superstition are unmistakeable foes wherever or in whatever shape they may

be encountered, and the only possible question that can arise is as to the way in which they should be attacked. It would, for instance, show both fatuity and ignorance to vilify Buddha while assailing the abuses of Buddhism; while the man who should begin his propagandist labours by dishonouring Confucius would be preparing but a cold reception for Christ. The great desideratum, therefore, is that the Christian missionary should devote careful and conscientious study to those beliefs which he is endeavouring to replace by something better. Very many do so; but there are others who deliberately, and of set purpose, refuse. They are determined, in a narrow and literal sense that I am sure was very far from the mind of the Apostle when he wrote the words, to "know nothing but Christ and Him crucified;" and, long before they have any adequate command of the language, will walk about the country repeating texts or little evangelical formulas in very indifferent Chinese, in the full persuasion that they are scattering seed which will produce a harvest in due time. It is not thus that the Christianisation of China will be brought about. Missionaries, if they are to do any lasting good, must make themselves acquainted with Chinese mental processes, Chinese religions and ethical systems, Chinese ideas and habits of thought. And this for more reasons than I can go into now. But any one will recognise the transcendent importance, to start with, of any man who aspires to teach a foreign people securing the confidence and respect of his hearers. Even now, after so many years of foreign intercourse, the great mass of the Chinese people look upon us as barbarians. We are merchants; and the mercantile class occupies a very humble rank in Chinese estimation. We build huge houses and very fine men-of-war, and are great proficient in casting artillery: which simply means that we are clever workmen, and, in fact, a superior sort of blacksmiths, whom the benevolent Autocrat of the Universe has found 'useful' on occasion in helping him with his arsenals and dockyards. But that we have a literature, a religion, systems of philo-

sophy and ethics, or a knowledge of any science, is infinitely beyond their wildest imaginations. I have been asked, in the calmest way, by country people in the interior, whether we have surnames in England; whether we have water; whether I ever saw the sun and moon before I came to China; whether—cruellest cut of all—we have any books, or written characters: we, the heirs of all the ages!

Therefore you see what a barbarous set we are in the eyes of these cultured folk; and how necessary it is, if a missionary wants to inspire the commonest respect in the people, for him to know at least as much of Confucius and the Confucian literature as a Chinese boy of twelve. He should be able to quote Confucian books to Confucianists, and argue with them from their own points of view; he should show them that he knows their systems, and appreciates them, but is prepared to teach them something higher; he should be ready, when the time comes, to lift a corner of that impenetrable shroud of ignorance and folly which obscures their view of the great world they live in; above all, he should recognise the good with which their own systems abound, use it as a common standing-ground, and base his own loftier teachings upon it. I do not believe that any other system will prove successful. The majority of missionaries, I know, agree with me; others would repudiate such a theory with indignation.

Let me bring forward an example of the sort of thing I condemn. Many years ago, I lived for six months in Nanking, a huge city, the walls of which enclose a space thirteen times greater than the Northern Capital itself. Just inside the South Gate, there was a station belonging to the China Inland Mission, which had been there for ten years. Its entire staff consisted of two young unmarried Englishwomen, the younger of whom was a girl of 18, the other, I believe, about 28 or 30. The elder was able to speak a little; the younger scarcely a word. Their study of Chinese was confined exclusively, or almost exclusively, to the New Testament; they visited a little

among the women in the neighbourhood; and they boasted exactly seven converts (not their own making)—the cook, the coolie, the gate-keeper, a Mrs. Tung and her son, a catechist, and an old doctor who lived near. The doctor was a most edifying character. He prayed and he preached splendidly, eloquently, fervently. His knowledge of the Bible was considerable, and his expositions of it those of an experienced and advanced believer. It was not long, however, after a series of disgraceful falls, before he deserted his wife, and took up with another woman somewhere else. A short time afterwards I came across the report of this Mission Station in a missionary publication. It was very short:—"Miss K—reports the increasing friendliness of her female neighbours at Nanking." That, and what I have just stated, were the results of ten years' propagandism according to this most unwise system. Occasionally, it is true, a male member of the society would pass through Nanking and stay from Saturday to Monday under the same roof as the two young women, to the not unnatural scandal of the Chinese. Again, I say, if the Christianisation of China is to be effectively carried out, it will not be by such methods as this.

I turn from blame, and pass to praise. The bulk of missionaries in China have discovered, and are practising, the great truth, that the duty of Christians towards the Chinese is threefold: to their minds, their souls, and their bodies. The church must be supplemented by the college and the hospital. Every missionary ought in some measure to be a medical man, but every missionary society ought to have a medical department, including, if possible, a hospital and an opium-refuge. I have no statistics at hand, otherwise I could here insert some most interesting and gratifying details of the splendid work that is being done in various parts of the Empire by the doctors and surgeons connected with the different missionary societies, and the spacious, comfortable, and well-found hospitals that are flourishing under their direction. At first it was up-hill work enough. The

Chinese could not and would not believe that any man in his senses would leave his own country and come over ten thousand miles of sea in order to doctor them for nothing, without having some ulterior object. Surely there must be some reason in the background. Perhaps it was political—the man was a disguised agent of his Government. Or perhaps he dabbled in the black art, and was desirous of procuring a good supply of Chinese eyes to make drugs with, or of gaining possession of a number of Chinamen by mesmeric influence. It was only gradually that confidence was gained, and even then the prejudices of the literati were hard to contend against. Besides, the methods adopted by the doctor were most objectionable. He had a way of cutting and carving, which it was impossible for any decent person to submit to; for mutilation is abhorrent to a Chinese; not because it hurts—they bear pain with marvellous stolidity, and there are few surgical operations more agonizing than the tortures inflicted in native courts of justice—but because the imperfect body will accompany him to the future world, and he has a great dread of entering upon that life halt or maimed. Then, again, there was the difficulty with women. What modest woman, whatever might be the matter with her, would do more than thrust her wrist through a curtain for the doctor to feel her pulse, and thereby diagnose her case? while here was a foreign barbarian actually pretending that it was necessary to examine her at close quarters, as though she were a man like himself! But, steadily if slowly, all these difficulties were overcome, and the opposition died away. The Chinese discovered that the foreigner was not only willing, but able, to cure them, and, that discovery once made, the success of the undertaking was assured. Now the fame of this hospital or that will spread for hundreds of miles, and persons of all classes and pursuits will travel from great distances to be treated by the foreign doctor, very often resorting to him that he may cure them of the opium-habit. The women are attended by lady doctors, who are in most instances women of the most

extraordinary attainments in surgery. One American lady in Shanghai, a Doctress Ryfschneider, lately performed what is, perhaps, the most terrible of all operations, demanding the highest order of skill, nerve, and science,—I mean ovariectomy—to the astonishment and admiration of the English physician who witnessed it; Doctress King, of Tientsin, some years ago saved the life of Countess Li, wife of the most powerful statesman in the Empire, and has ever since occupied the proud post of Physician-in-Ordinary to His Excellency's Household; while Dr. Dudgeon, formerly of the London Missionary Society, is physician to His Imperial Highness Prince Kung, as well as to the family of the Manchu Governor of Peking, and was consulted, on the sly, by some of the doctors who attended the Empress-Mother in 1881, when Her Imperial Majesty was thought to be dying of phthisis.

Now these facts speak for themselves, and one has only to glance over the Hospital Reports that are published periodically in China to see the number of in and out door patients, the different sorts of disease, the proportion of cures effected, and the other statistics contained in such documents. For the extensiveness and excellence of this department of missionary labour I unhesitatingly pledge my word, and need only add that so far from having exaggerated the state of affairs I have very considerably understated it. Of course, the hospital is used as a vehicle of propaganda. While the out-door patients are awaiting their turn, they sit about on benches in a preaching-hall, at one end of which stands a native catechist offering exhortations; and many cases have been known in which the patient has become a convert. Probably human nature would not be human nature if some of the Chinese did not look askance at the hospital for this reason, viewing it suspiciously as a mere blind or trap to catch unwary Buddhists. But the good it does is incontestable; and the bitterest opponent of the foreign missionary doctor is unable to say that he acts with partiality, or shows more attention to the ailments of an incipient neophyte than to those of the most determined pagan.

And now, as to education; and in order that some idea may be formed of the good that is being done in this direction by foreign missionaries in China, it is necessary that I should say a word or two with regard to education as it exists among the Chinese themselves. The Chinese are perhaps the most learned and the most ignorant nation that plumes itself upon its culture. The public career of a Chinaman depends upon his success in competitive examination, and the competitive examination is based solely and entirely upon a knowledge of the Confucian classics, the principal poets and essayists, and the recognised historians of the country. The power of writing an elegant treatise upon some recondite expression in Mencius, or of turning a graceful verse in imitation of Tu Fu or Li T'ai-po, has generally been considered sufficient to fit a scholar for the magistracy of a district city, a post in the provincial treasury, or even the direction of an important arsenal. Chemistry, geography, mathematics, the histories, literatures, and languages of other countries, science in all or any of its multifarious branches, are matters simply undreamt of in the philosophy of your Chinese man of letters. He has no idea that such men as Plato, Socrates, Shakspeare, Newton, Euclid, Darwin, or Spencer ever lived. He is a man of letters, and nothing else. His ideas of geography are probably gleaned from the "*Shan Hai Ching*," a learned work which describes the countries of the world beyond the boundaries of China: the country whose inhabitants have a large hole right through their stomachs, which facilitates their being carried about on bamboos; the country where people's legs are joined to their armpits, the country of the one-eyed race, the country of the men whose faces are conveniently situated in the pit of their stomachs. Go into a Chinese school, and, if you are not deafened by the hubbub, look at the books that the children are studying. I looked over a little fellow's shoulder once—he was the son of a Brigadier General—and found him poring over the *Yi Ching*, or *Book of Changes*—a mystic volume which dates from at least 1100 years before Christ,

and which no scholar, Chinese or foreign, has ever yet been able to understand. Here is a specimen of what this ten-years-old child was studying :

"The *Li* diagram represents treading on the tail of a Tiger which does not bite men, and implies luxuriance."

"The *Ka* diagram implies Origin and Luxuriance. Wading thro' great streams is now profitable."

"The *Sheh Ho* diagram implies pervading ; it is now beneficial to inflict punishments.—Having something in the side of the mouth is called the *Sheh Ho* diagram. It is gnawing and pervading : the Hard and the Soft are distinguished from each other ; motion and brightness, thunder and lightning, united together and completed. The Soft attains the due Medium and ascends. Although the position is an improper one to be occupied by the Soft, the infliction of punishments is now beneficial.—The 2nd Six is, gnawing the skin and destroying the nose ; no error follows. The Duke of Chow says, Gnawing the skin and destroying the nose implies the Soft riding upon the Hard."

Think of the best years of a young child's life being spent upon such unutterable trash as that, and then you will be able to realise the inestimable blessing of that true education provided for the rising generation in China by the mission schools. And I am happy to say that the education-movement has taken firm root among all but the most narrow-minded teachers of Christianity. Even the missionary's wife has her daily classes of girls, whom she instructs in all things calculated to open their minds, engage their energies, and fit them to be wise mothers and useful members of society. But it is when we go from the humbler seminaries to the large and important colleges that are being established by the missionary body that the movement is seen in all its greatness and significance. Confucius, of course, is taught in all, from the highest to the lowest. That is necessary, because a knowledge of the Four Books is an imperative requisite if the young Chinaman is to look forward to any career whatever of respectability and usefulness ; and because all intelligent missionaries believe that the Confucian writings will be incorporated into the future Christianity of China, and as certainly become integral parts of the Christian civilisation of the country as the "*De Officiis*"

of Cicero has been in the civilisation of the West. This is taught just as Homer and Plato are taught in Europe; and then, in addition, the curriculum includes history, geography, chemistry, algebra and the higher mathematics, botany, geology, astronomy, theology, physics, and, in short, most of the subjects which form the ordinary course of study in our own colleges. I had some years ago an opportunity of inspecting some of the examination papers from Dr. Mateer's College at Têngchow, and I can only say that they were fully as advanced as any I have since seen at the University of Oxford. A School and Text-book Society has recently been started, composed of missionaries and scientific men, the most prominent worker among them being Mr. John Fryer, of Shanghai, by whom scientific and philosophical works are being carefully and systematically translated into Chinese, for use in the educational establishments which already exist.

Under the auspices of Sir Robert Hart, Inspector-General of Imperial Maritime Customs, the same work is being done for the more special benefit of the Peking College—a Government institution—one of the principal translators being the Rev. Dr. Edkins, who for some thirty years was connected with the London Missionary Society. "Just at present," wrote to me the other day Dr. Martin, the President of this College, "China is the most interesting country in the world. She is entering on a transition period; and every step towards the new era is of interest, especially to one who, like myself, has long been an actor in the preparatory stages. Figure to yourself how I hailed the new law opening science examinations in the provinces! I had toiled with my colleagues like the fishers of Galilee through the long night, and the miraculous draught comes in the morning, when the science papers from all the provinces are ordered to be sent up to my College in Peking, and candidates for the Doctorate rewarded with the title of Honorary Fellows of the institution. The full results of this movement will be slow in maturing; but they will come, though not

in my day." I do not dwell upon the Polytechnic at Shanghai, which is a sort of scientific museum and place for scientific lectures, because it is not a missionary foundation; but the place exists, and is as much patronised by the more intelligent Chinese gentry as one can expect from so very prejudiced and conservative a class.

To sum up: what manner of man should the Model Missionary be? The question is a very interesting one, and we may pardonably indulge ourselves in devising an answer to it. We picture to ourselves a man strong both mentally and physically, of wide reading, and catholic and tender sympathies. He lives in some dirty, crowded town, far away in the interior, where his modest Chinese house, running round a well-kept garden, and presided over by a notable English or American housewife, is not only an oasis of cleanliness in a desert of dirt and stench, but a reproach and an example to the sordid dwellings of his neighbours. Whether he dresses in European fashion, or adopts the costume of the country, is a matter of convenience and expediency, not of principle. For a lady, at all events, living in the interior, the Chinese costume is almost a necessity, if only to obviate that insufferable mobbing which is far more provoked by the novelty of an English toilette than of an English face. Besides which, there are neither English dressmakers nor tailors in the inland provinces of China, while a Chinese dress can be either repaired or replaced almost at a moment's notice; so that the balance of convenience, at any rate, is in favour of dressing in China as the Chinese do. Opposite his house, on the other side of the compound, or garden, is the Mission School-room; the walls of which are liberally furnished with maps of China and other parts of the world, not forgetting Palestine, of course, and such diagrams, pictures, and black-boards as are necessary aids to the eye in elementary instruction. Near it is the Mission-Chapel, or worship-hall, to use the Chinese phrase. Here, in true Chinese fashion, also, the walls are hung with scrolls or adorned with inscribed tablets: with this difference, that

the aphorism of Confucius or the quotation from Han Wen-kung is replaced by the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Eight Beatitudes, and such sentences from the Gospels as may best commend themselves to the discretion of the missionary. His preaching is very simple, very elementary, at first. He does not fall into the mistake of thinking that, because a certain doctrine has been a household word to himself as long as he can remember, it will be easily grasped by men whose life-long thoughts have been cast in a different mould, or win acceptance by dint of terrifying threats. Coming to his hearers, a stranger from an unknown land, and preaching to them what is to all intents and purposes an unknown God, he takes his stand upon the only common ground between them—love of goodness, and the blessedness of doing good; he represents God, not as a jealous and avenging deity, ready to empty the vials of his wrath upon them for their idol-worship, but as the One after whom they have been unconsciously seeking, whose attributes they have erroneously attributed to imaginary beings; to whom they already occupy the position of sons and daughters without knowing it; and a partial revelation of whose character they have actually received, scattered here and there, like dim and broken lights, through the best pages of some of their best religious teachers. Never does he present Christ to them as the foe or the opponent of Confucius; rather, on the contrary, does he urge that, had Confucius lived a few centuries later than he did, he would have been a disciple of Christ. It is only when he has got his neophytes well grounded in the fundamentals of the faith that our Model Missionary leads them to a knowledge of the deeper and more mystic doctrines, and it is here that all his tact, discretion, and mental acumen will be brought into most serious requisition. He must put himself into the place of the Chinese; see with their eyes, ponder and anticipate all their difficulties, avoid shocking their susceptibilities by premature and abrupt disclosures of things hard to be understood; and remember—if he be ever tempted to

chafe at their slowness of heart, and inability to take in all he is longing to teach them—who it was who experienced the same difficulty centuries ago. The missionary is not the first who has been forced to declare plainly, “I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now.”

But our missionary is not always preaching. There is no sphere in which he enjoys greater influence and popularity than in conversation and the amenities of social life. Never affronting his guests by the slightest assumption of an offensive superiority, but winning their respect and confidence by rigid adherence to that somewhat elaborate etiquette which the Chinese so highly prize, his talk is always cheerful, interesting, and instructive. They recognise at once that he is well acquainted with their own literature, and are therefore ready to hear what he has to say about the literature of his own country. They pore over his pictures, and gaze with wonder upon the teeming streets and palatial edifices of London, Edinburgh, and Paris. On a clear night he takes them into his little garden, and, by the aid of a well-constructed telescope, charms and amazes them with an easy object lesson in astronomy; and now and then he entertains a number of his parishioners with an exhibition of the magic lantern, such slides as present the inhabitants of a drop of water from the nearest ditch, viewed through a powerful microscope, eliciting the loudest “Ai-ya’s!” of wonder and most full-mouthed “Hao, Hao’s!” of appreciation. In a word, the Model Missionary is an “all-round” man. He is liberal and catholic in his views, sympathetic, earnest, fearless; holds, with Sir John Lawrence, that the *only* way that will bring the natives to truer and more enlightened ideas is the gradual progress of education, and that a knowledge of scientific facts, however elementary, is the *only* remedy for superstition; knows a little of most things, and is “apt to teach” where he finds a favourable soil; does not expect to Christianise the Chinese by turning them into bad imitations of

Englishmen, but is content to do what in him lies to open their minds, disturb their lethargy, excite their interest, and calmly and hopefully to await the springing of the seed he sows, whatever may be the shape or form in which the fruit appears. And if the newly-founded Churches of Eastern Asia compare favourably with what we read of the Churches of Western Asia eighteen centuries ago,—which is surely not much to ask—the Model Missionary will have all the reason he desires to thank God and take courage.

FREDERIC H. BALFOUR.

THE TURKISH ARMY OF THE OLDEN TIME.

(Continued.)

IN the last number of the ASIATIC QUARTERLY we briefly sketched the outlines of the old system of Turkish army organization. We will now add a few details which were then omitted, and will also review the character and conduct of the soldiery of the old Turkish standing army in the field and in quarters: their relations with the Sultan and the Nation; and the causes which led to the decay and eventual dissolution of an army system so superior to any other ever established among an Oriental people without European assistance. The *Nasihah Nama*, or "Advices" compiled by order of the Imperial Divan in the reign of Sultan Ibrahim (A.D. 1640), give the present state of the Sultan's Household Troops and of some of the corps of the standing army. From them we find that the number of troops in the six regiments of cavalry was as follows: the regiment of Sipahis of the Red Standard had three hundred troops; the Silahdars had two hundred and sixty; the Ulufajis of the right wing one hundred and twenty; and the other regiment of Ulufajis and the two of Ghuraba had one hundred troops each; nine hundred and eighty troops in all. The troops had a minimum strength of twenty-five, and a maximum strength of thirty troopers. This would give a total of about 20,000 horsemen.

The only officer of the troop was the Buluk Bashi, or captain. The senior captain, or Bash Buluk Bashi, was on the regimental staff, occupying a position similar to the Risaldar major or Subadar major in our Native Indian regiments.

The Sipahis were armed with the lance and sabre as their regulation weapons. They were allowed to provide themselves with pistols and other arms in addition. The irregular Turkish horsemen were, as Knolles says, "much pestered with arms," often carrying a lance, sabre, mace, and battleaxe, in addition to a carbine and a pair of pistols, and the universal yataghan; and sometimes even a bow and arrows, which were used in European war by the Turks and Tartars up to the end of the seventeenth century. In later times the use of the lance was almost abandoned by the Turks, and the scimitar became the favourite *arme blanche* of their cavalry, as it was of their infantry. The pike was entirely laid aside by the Janissaries upon the introduction of firearms, towards the end of the fifteenth century.

Military rewards and decorations among the Turks were both valuable and abundant. After a conquest, the lands of the conquered country or province were parcelled out as Ziamat (large), and Timar (small) fiefs among the most meritorious claimants of the victorious army. Those for whom grants of land were not available, or who did not want them, were promoted in their corps; or when this was not possible they were transferred to a corps whose privileges and emoluments were greater than their own. Thus deserving Janissaries were transferred to the Sipahis; and Azabs, Levends, and other irregulars were enrolled as Janissaries. Sabres and pelisses of honour were bestowed on officers, sometimes individually for acts of valour and devotion, sometimes collectively for a successful siege or campaign. Silver badges to be worn in the turban were bestowed on the common soldiers for acts of uncommon bravery.

Contrary to the usual custom of Musalmans the Turkish soldiers of the standing army shaved off their beards and whiskers, wearing only moustachios. A shaven chin was the distinctive mark of the Kapi Kúli (slaves of the Porte) as the paid soldiers were called. In the corps of Janissaries, the privates and Karakullukjis were obliged to shave: the

Sakka was permitted to grow a beard; all officers above that grade were expected to wear beards. The Sultan's household troops and the pages of the Seraglio also had the chin shaven: shaving the beard seems to have been considered a sign of subordination among the Turks. In the plates of the Turkish military costume published in London in 1818, the colonel and subaltern officer of Janissaries are both represented with shaven chins, wearing only long moustachios.

In the early days of Ottoman conquest, the Sultans always led their armies in the field. Afterwards, in their absence, the post of commander-in-chief devolved upon the Grand Vazirs, who continued to direct the operations of the Turkish armies, and to command them in the field, until the abolition of the old army system. Every Turk is no longer a soldier now, and the Grand Vazir has become a civil functionary. When a detached expedition was undertaken, or when the Grand Vazir was absent from any reason, the command of the army was entrusted to a Pasha specially appointed, with the title of Saraskir (Head of the Army, pronounced by the Turks Seraskier). This title has now been appropriated to the Ottoman Minister for War in the reformed Divan.

When the Sultan led the army in person, the Janissary Agha commanded the Ortas of the corps present. When the Grand Vazir was in command the Kúlkiaya (overseer of the slaves) or Lieutenant General, took the place of the Janissary Agha. Latterly, since the Sultans left off taking the field, both the Agha and the Kulkiaya accompanied the Grand Vazir with the army. The Sagban Bashi (head dog-keeper) commanded the Janissaries at Constantinople during their absence. When the army was led by a Seraskier the Janissaries with it were commanded by one of the three junior major-generals, the Zagharji Bashi (head keeper of the pointers), the Sam-sunji Bashi (head keeper of the mastiffs), and the Turnaji Bashi (head falconer). In minor campaigns and expedi-

tions, the brigadier-generals, or Sarhad Aghas (Lords of the Marches) commanded the Janissaries of their own districts. When the Emperor Joseph invaded the Ottoman dominions as the ally of Catherine of Russia, he preferred to treat with these Sarhad Aghas rather than with the Pashas, because the former, commanding an organised force of some thousand men, could carry out the engagements they entered into; while the Pashas were at the mercy of the soldiery, and could not be depended on to make their commands obeyed.

The Sarhad Aghas also kept the keys of the great fortresses on the frontiers of the Empire, where the Ortas of Janissaries were mostly concentrated. When a detachment of Janissaries was made to garrison a lesser fortress, or Palanka, as the Turks called it (from the Latin *planca*, a stockade), the officer commanding it received brevet rank with the title of Sirdar.

At each station garrisoned by Janissaries, the colonel of one of the Ortas acted as Kiáyá Yeri (brigade major), and signed all the orders issued by the Sarhad Agha: in the capital this office was held always by the colonel of the 32nd Orta of the division Buluk. The appearance of the name of the Kiáyá Yeri in all the orders of the corps has often led European writers to entertain mistaken notions as to the functions and authority of those officers: in this matter the old Turkish military custom bears a remarkable analogy to the modern practice of issuing orders in our civilized European armies. The accounts and records of the headquarters of the corps were under the charge of the secretary of the Janissary Agha, who was a civil officer, and bore the title of the Yangichari Effendisi; and the establishments of writers and accountants were under his orders. Only the executive military orders were signed by the Kiáyá Yeri.

The Janissaries and the troops of the standing army in the garrisons were formerly relieved every three years: but as the limits of the Ottoman Empire ceased to expand, and abuses crept into the Army system, the Ortas ceased to

change their stations, and their headquarters remained fixed in permanent garrisons. When fresh territory was acquired from a foreign power, the Janissaries stationed in it were kept for three years on the footing of garrison troops. After the expiration of that time the headquarters of their Orta became fixed in a permanent station. Janissaries garrisoning a place temporarily were called Naubatji (duty men): those in a permanent station were called Yerliküli (territorial troops).

Thus the Janissaries degenerated into a local militia: and many of their Ortas bore a strong provincial stamp. The 35th Orta was entirely composed of Laz-tribesmen from the Batoum coast; and the Ortas stationed at Belgrade and Bosna Serai were recruited chiefly from Slavonian Muhammadans, who used their old patronymics in addition to their Musalman names: as Muhammad Fotchich, Ali Vukovitch, &c. Every Sultan, as soon as he succeeded to the throne, was enrolled as a private Janissary in the 1st Orta of the division Buluk. On the next occasion of the quarterly distribution of pay, he proceeded in state to the barrack of that regiment and received the pay of his grade from the hands of the Odabashi; his treasurer then added a handful of gold sequins to the amount and distributed it to the Janissaries on guard.

On the day of his coronation, when the Sultan went in state to the Mosque of Ayub to be girded with the sword of Othman, he halted on his way at the barracks of the 61st regiment, whose colonel handed him a goblet of sherbet; the Sultan, after drinking it, returned the cup filled with gold coins, which were distributed to the soldiers. This custom had arisen from the fact of Sultan Suliman the Magnificent having accepted a cup of sherbet from the colonel of that regiment on one occasion of his visiting the barracks: he quaffed it off, and said to the assembled Janissaries that he would see them again at Kizil Alma (the red apple) the name by which the Turks designated the city of Rome. The chance act and speech were imitated by his successors

until they became a regular part of the coronation ceremony. In the early part of the eighteenth century, Sultan Mahmūd the First ordained that the cup should in future be presented to the Sultan in person by the Janissary Agha: that the Kulkiaya, or lieutenant-general of the corps, should at the same time present one to the Grand Vazir; and that the major-general should present goblets to others of the imperial suite; and in a special Firman which highly lauded the services and the loyalty of the corps of Janissaries, he laid down the etiquette to be observed on the occasion.

The 1st and 61st Ortas had accordingly the privilege of having a "throne room" in their barracks: a vacant room containing only a throne, and supposed to be kept for the habitation of the Sultan.

It was always the custom of the monarchs of the House of Othmán to go about their capital *incognito*, and attended only by a small *suite*; in order to escape from the cumbrous pomp of state ceremony which was *de rigueur* for the progresses of Imperial Majesty. On these occasions the Sultan usually wore the dress of a subaltern officer of the Janissaries, and his attendants were also habited as sub-officers and privates of the corps.

The succession to the Ottoman throne, like that of all Musalman monarchies, was looked on as the prize of the boldest claimant; and, in the early times of Turkish history, there was usually a struggle for the vacant throne, between the sons of a deceased Sultan. He who could command the allegiance of the Sipáhis and Janissaries was of course certain to succeed: and this led to the custom of gaining the suffrages of the troops by a large money donation to them on every occasion of a new Sultan. This *Julús Bakhshish*, or "accession donation," became a regular and most objectionable feature of the Ottoman military system. Its amount was supposed to be limited only by the liberality of the new monarch, and the cupidity of the troops could not be satisfied but by the distribution of the whole sum in the Treasury at the time: if their expectations were not

gratified, they overturned their kettles, invaded the precincts of the palace, and clamoured for the heads of the Sultan's too economical advisers. It was even said that the troops deposed their monarchs on more than one occasion solely for the purpose of enjoying a fresh donation on the accession of his successor. Prince Cantemir says that in his time twenty-five dollars were given to each Sipáhi and twenty dollars to each Janissary as Julús Bakhshish : and that 15,000 Sipahis and 40,000 Janissaries in the capital received it at this rate. Probably these dollars were Reichsthalers, or Austrian dollars, in which case the total donation would amount to about two hundred thousand pounds sterling. After the series of revolutions and tumults which followed the murder of Sultan Othmán the Second by the Janissaries, when the boy Murád the Fourth was elevated to the throne, in the place of the imbecile Mustafá, the Treasury was literally empty : the Aghás of the soldiery took an oath, therefore, that they would forego the accustomed donation. However, some of the Vazirs by great exertions scraped together some hundreds of purses which, says Awlliya Effendi, "were distributed among the soldiery, notwithstanding their oath not to accept of it."

The organisation which the Sultans had given to the Janissaries endowed them with a strength of which they soon became conscious : and their isolation from the rest of the nation, arising from their peculiar method of recruitment, made the interests of their own corps paramount to all other considerations with them.

Very soon after their formation we come across notices of their mutinies in Turkish history. When Murád the Second abdicated, his young son Muhammad, afterwards conqueror of Constantinople, proved unable to control the Janissaries, and Murád had to re-assume the reins of power. When Báýázid the Second was Sultan, his pacific and unenterprising character sorely tried the patience of his troops. The motto of the Turks of that time was "Al harakat barakat" ("Movement is happiness"); very much in contrast

to their *inertia* at the present day. They gladly assisted young Selim to dethrone his peace-loving father, and gained a master more to their mind, and who knew better how to deal with them. When they mutinied again, Selim the Ferocious quelled the mutiny, and executed their Sagbán-Báshi, who was at that time the chief commander of the corps. It was then that he instituted the offices of the Janissary Agha and Kúlkiáyá, who were always appointed from without, and not promoted from the officers of the corps.

Selim's successor, Sulimán the Magnificent, said once, that he wished he could but be for forty days Agha of the Janissaries, that he might enjoy unlimited power. In his anger one day he said that he would put down the Janissaries with the shoemakers of Marján Charsú (the Coral Bazaar): and this speech being reported to the shoemakers, they assembled to the number of some thousands and came to the palace to offer their services to the Sultan. Sulimán laughed at their readiness to take him at his word, and to reward their zeal issued a degree enhancing the regulated price of boots and shoes.

In spite of Suliman's firm and wise character the Janissaries seem to have been often too much for him: yet the mischievous effects of their preponderating power could hardly have been foreseen by him, as we find him largely augmenting their numbers. When he besieged Buda in A.D. 1525 the German garrison, unable to hold out against so mighty a force, capitulated on condition of being allowed to depart free and uninjured. The Janissaries, who expected the plunder of the place when taken by storm, were disgusted with the capitulation; and when the garrison, quitting the gate of the fortress, defiled through their ranks, they heaped insults and abuse upon the German soldiers. One of these struck a Janissary who insulted him, and who returned the blow by cutting him down: this was the signal for a general massacre in which the whole German garrison perished. No one was punished for this disgraceful violation of a capitulation ratified by the Sultan.

When Suliman died at the siege of Sigeth, the Janissaries refused to let his son, Selim the Drunken, enter Constantinople till the Julús Bakhshish had been paid to them, and, when the Vazirs and officers of state remonstrated with them, the insolent soldiers rapped them over the head with the stocks of their calivers. When Sultan Othmán the Second undertook the expedition against Poland, he suspected that pay was issued for more Janissaries than were present. He ordered them to be mustered, but they refused. During the siege of Choczim, the Janissaries traded their rations to the besieged Poles in exchange for wine. Their misconduct greatly displeased the Sultan, and, as he did not conceal his resentment, the quarrel grew till the whole of the troops quartered at Constantinople broke into open mutiny and seized and brutally murdered the unfortunate Sultan. It was for its share in this crime that the 65th regiment of the division Jamaat was afterwards broken up by Sultan Murád the Terrible, the brother of the murdered prince. After the death of Sultan Othmán, the Sipáhis and Janissaries governed the empire, putting up and pulling down Sultans and Vazirs, and selling the offices of State to the highest bidders. For some years the most horrible anarchy prevailed in the capital and throughout the empire, from the outrageous excesses of these organised ruffians. The strong arm of Murad the Fourth restored some degree of order. Abázá Pasha of Armenia, being unable to control the Janissaries in Erzeroum, surprised and massacred them at the head of his irregular troops. Murad's successor, Ibrahim, having disgusted the nation by his tyranny and debauchery, vengeance was executed upon him by the Janissaries who deposed and strangled him.

After the disastrous campaigns which resulted in the loss of Hungary, the defeated troops vented their rage upon the Sultan Muhammad the Fourth, and deposed him without taking his life.

Mustafa the Second similarly expiated the misfortune of his defeat at Zenta: and Ahmad the Third was deposed and

murdered upon the strength of the defeats inflicted on the Turkish arms by Nadir Shah. On this occasion it was a private Janissary, named Patrona Khalil, who headed the insurgents, and who was virtually ruler of the Ottoman Empire for several weeks, till he was decoyed to a pretended conference and murdered. By this time the Turkish regular army had become an armed mob in which the authority of the officers was only tolerated when it did not clash with the wishes or intentions of the men. There was, however, no other general mutiny till the reign of Sultan Selim the Third, who made a futile attempt at the introduction of European drill and tactics. This measure was desperately obnoxious to the Janissaries. The regiments stationed at Belgrade mutinied and murdered the Pasha, who was an adherent of reform. Their excesses caused a general revolt of the Christian population, and brought about both their own destruction and the separation of Servia from the Ottoman Empire.

Sultan Selim's ill-starred attempts at reform at last caused a general mutiny of the corps at Constantinople, followed by a series of sanguinary revolutions, in which the reforming Sultan and his successor Mustafa the Fourth both lost their lives ; and which left the Janissaries the triumphant masters of the situation. Their last mutiny was again caused by the attempt to introduce the European drill, but on this occasion their violence had been foreseen and guarded against ; and for once their revolt was unsuccessful. Seven thousand Janissaries perished amid the thunder of the guns, or in the flames of their blazing barracks ; double the number were the victims of wholesale executions ; the survivors were condemned to perpetual banishment from the capital, and a Firman of the Sultan proclaimed the final dissolution of "that detestable military corps."

They had become almost as notorious for misbehaviour in the field as for insubordination in quarters. In the naval battle in the mouth of the Dardanelles, between the Venetians and Turks, the Janissaries behaved so badly that,

after the fight was over, the Grand Vazir had the Kul-kiaya and seven colonels of Janissaries strangled *pour encourager les autres*. At the second siege of Candia in 1649, orders came from Constantinople for three regiments of Janissaries to return to that City, where popular tumults were apprehended. Six other regiments, the 14th, 16th, 19th, 38th, 51st, and 53rd, at once deserted the trenches, and refused to return to them, and the siege had to be abandoned.

Again, in the third and last siege of Candia, the Sipáhis and Janissaries mutinied and stoned the tent of the Grand Vazir ; but on this occasion their officers prevailed on them by blows and threats to return to their duty in the trenches. They did, this time, show something of their ancient form, and carried on the tedious and dangerous siege operations for three years : but soon after Kara Mustafa Pasha had great difficulty in persuading them to remain at their posts in the trenches before Vienna, the siege having lasted some weeks longer than they expected.

At the Battle of Zenta they murdered the Grand Vazir and all the Pashas and general officers of the army. It was in the campaign of Sultan Mustafa the Second in Hungary, in the summer of the year 1697, that the Turkish grand army was crossing the Theiss, at Zenta by a bridge of boats, and the Sultan and Pashas with their household troops and all the cavalry had already crossed, when the German army, under Prince Eugene, came up, and found the Turkish infantry, guns, and baggage still on the right bank of the river. The Sultan sent word to Almas Pasha, the Grand Vazir, to send the Janissaries and the guns across the river instantly, adding that if a single waggon was lost his head should answer for it. The distracted Vazir, knowing that if he sent over the guns and Janissaries, the trains and baggage must be taken by the enemy, concealed these orders from the troops, and set them to digging a trench round the bridge head : and sent to fetch the Pashas back to share his danger. They all returned to him on foot, as the bridge was too

crowded with the baggage trains crossing it to admit of their riding; and the Vazir hastily assigned them their posts, and made his dispositions for the fight, for the Austrian light troops were already engaged with the Turkish piquets. The entrenchment was finished by the most strenuous exertions of the Turks, but it was found to be too extended, and to have too little command; and the troops were withdrawn, and set to digging a second ditch closer to the bridge-head.

The Janissaries were working desperately, blaspheming and cursing their officers for having brought them into such a strait, while the Austrian bullets were falling thickly among them: the new trench had not half been completed when the Germans were seen advancing to the attack, and the Turkish troops were ordered to re-occupy the original trench. Furious at this mismanagement the Janissaries rose upon their generals and murdered the whole of them on the spot. The Grand Vazir, fifteen Vazirs and Pashas of three horse-tails, twenty-seven other Pashas, and many Begs and Aghas fell victims to their fury. The only superior officer who escaped their scimitars, to fall a few minutes later on the bayonets of the Germans, was the Janissary Agha Deli Balta Oghli, whose courage and daring had made him the idol of his men. Among the murdered Pashas were some of the best soldiers of the Ottoman Empire: the veteran, Khwajah Ja'afer Pasha, who had held the fortress of Temeswar for seven years against the Germans, and Misrli Oghli Pasha, the Egyptian, who had recovered the Isle of Chios from the Venetians. Their fate was soon avenged, for the bridge was broken by the enemy's cannon; and in the desperate battle that followed the Germans gave no quarter. Seventy-three Aghas and colonels, with more than fourteen thousand Janissaries, three thousand and seven hundred Topjis and Jebejis, and seven thousand irregular foot soldiers, with a great number of camp followers, were slain in the fight or drowned in the Theiss. The Sultan with all his cavalry looked helplessly on at the scene of

carnage from the opposite bank of the river. The battle of Zenta was the last occasion of a Turkish Sultan commanding an army in the field.

Amid the alternate scenes of frenzied valour and frantic panic which fill up the history of the old Ottoman army in its later days, a few gleams of heroism shine forth and show the latent qualities of the splendid fighting material that was so shamefully squandered by ignorance and incapacity ; such as the maintenance of the position on the bare hill-side at Shumla by the Janissaries under the Russian cannonade in 1810 ; and the death (*Turkicè*, martyrdom) of the last survivors of the corps on the blood-stained ramparts of Akhalzik. The iron firmness which had distinguished the Janissaries at Kossova, Varna, and Nicopolis had disappeared as their discipline deteriorated ; and, when confronted with the trained German and Russian battalions in the wars of the last century, the heroes of the soup-kettles usually behaved no better than the Irish at the Boyne or the Yankee soldiers at Bull's Run.

The Sipahis were more mutinous and seditious than the Janissaries, if that were possible. They were generally both of them unanimous in demanding the dethronement of a Sultan or the decapitation of an obnoxious Vazir. The Turks accounted, satisfactorily to themselves, for the turbulence of their soldiery by the theory that Christian Constantine, foreseeing the future conquest of his city by the Moslems, maliciously laid its foundations when the sun was in the sign of Cancer : to which malignant prevision they ascribed the riots and revolutions that troubled its repose. Sometimes, however, the Vazirs managed to play off the Janissaries against the mutinous Sipahis ; and notably on one occasion during the early part of the long reign of Sultan Muhammad the Fourth in the middle of the seventeenth century. The Sipahis were great allies of the pages of the Seraglio, who often recruited their ranks ; and the latter having some cause of complaint with the Palace administration invoked the aid of their military friends. After several

minor skirmishes and murders, the matter came to a trial of strength between the Ministers and the "Alti Buluk," or six regiments of Sipahis, who turned out and occupied a position in the city, threatening the Seraglio. The Vazirs called out the Janissaries to dislodge them; and a colonel of an Orta of the Jamaat was selected to go with a summons to the mutineers to disperse. He was murdered; and it is alleged, and with great likelihood, that the murder was really committed by servants of the Vazir, dressed as Sipahis: a proceeding to which there are unfortunately too many parallel instances in the history of Turkish diplomacy. Anyhow, the deed had the desired effect of enraging the Janissaries, and, in the pitched battle which followed, the Sipahis, who were far inferior in numbers, were defeated with dreadful slaughter. Cart-loads of their dead bodies were thrown into the sea at Seraglio Point, says Awlliya Effendi. Probably there had always been jealousy between the two corps, and this encounter caused a bitter feud between them, which was sometimes fought out, even in face of an enemy in the field, and often deluged the streets of the capital with blood. In the battle fought by the Duke of Lorraine and the Elector of Bavaria with the Turks in Hungary in A.D. 1685, the defeated Turkish army was forced back upon a morass, traversed only by narrow paths: here the Sipahis and Janissaries became crowded together, and the latter attacked the former, unhorsing and killing many of them, to clear the way for their own flight, so that it was said that more Turks fell in the battle by the hand of their own men than were slain by the enemy. Prince Cantemir of Moldavia, who himself made many campaigns with the Ottoman armies, says that this was a common trick of the Janissaries, who, when repulsed, "think of nothing but flight, pulling the Spahi off their horses, and killing such as make resistance, and so become the worst of enemies to the horse. For which reason, the Turkish horse in a flight, and whenever they see their foot giving way, never come near them, nay, avoid them more carefully than the enemy themselves."

In the year 1689, the fortress of Temeswar, commanded by Khwajah Ja'afar Pasha, had been blockaded for three years by the Germans, and the garrison was reduced to extremity from hunger. The Janissaries were driven to eating the flesh of cats and dogs, and other unclean animals. The Grand Vazir, Mustafa Kuprili, at Belgrade, hearing of their sufferings, determined to make an effort to relieve their pressing needs till he could advance with his army to raise the siege. Accordingly, he dispatched five hundred Sipahis, each trooper leading a pack-horse laden with a sack of flour. These horsemen passed through the hostile country, eluded the vigilance of the Austrian piquets and patrols in the night, and reached the gates of Temeswar, where they were received with transports of joy by the starving garrison. "The Janissaries at once fell, like famished wolves, upon the meal-sacks: the Sipahis bade them stand off till they should have delivered their charge into the hands of the Governor to whom it was consigned: from words they came to blows, and the meal was polluted with the blood of Musalmans slain upon the meal-sacks." The Sipahis were overpowered, and the meal was plundered by the victorious Janissaries.

When the Turkish Grand Army marched against the Russians in Poland in 1669—"a mass incurably chaotic," as Carlyle well describes it—the Sipahis and Janissaries both happened to pitch on the same camping ground near the town of Bender, and they fought a battle for the possession of it, while the rest of the army looked on. Latterly, the Sipahis were quartered in Bruşa, Adrianople, and other towns away from the capital, perhaps to prevent the disturbance of the peace caused by the frequent quarrels between them and the Janissaries.

The other corps of the regular army also had their standing feuds with each other. The Jebejis were close allies of the Janissaries, and could always count on the latter turning out to the cry of "Yoldash yokmidir!" ("Comrades, to the rescue")! and they shared in the ruin of the Ojak,

being all banished from Constantinople by Sultan Mahmud after the massacre of the Janissaries.

The Topjis, on the other hand, were generally on bad terms with the latter, and turned their guns on them with hearty goodwill in 1826.

Baron de Tott relates in his memoirs how the whole marine quarter of Constantinople was kept in an uproar for several days by a chance quarrel which arose between a regiment of Janissaries and the corps of Levends for the possession of a favourite singing boy who used to perform at a café of the quarter. Each insisted on the exclusive right to patronise his performances, and they proceeded to settle the difference by a resort to arms, both parties being equipped for the Russian war. They regularly took the field against each other, posting piquets and giving counter-signs. Bullets were flying day and night, and no one could put his head out-of-doors without taking his chance of a stray shot. After this state of things had lasted for three days, to the complete disorganisation of the business of the capital, the Executive interfered and put an end to the civil war by a thoroughly Turkish expedient; viz., strangling the unfortunate boy who was the cause of the dispute.

As long as the strict discipline introduced by the earlier Sultans was maintained by the free use of the stick, the Turkish soldier was as sober and as frugal as is his Nizam successor at the present day. Knolles and the other European writers of his time extol the temperance and continence of the Turk's men of war, contrasting it with the dicing, drinking, and drabbing which disgraced the Christian camps of Mediæval Europe. "The Turks keep very good order and discipline," says old Knolles, "for in that point they yield not to any. They may drinke no wine, and there are no women seen in their army. They observe a wonderful silence, and all the souldiers are governed by the becke of the hand, or any show of the countenance. Quarrels and thefts are severely punished. When they march, they dare not enter into any cornfields, or vines."

He describes with surprise the good order of the Janissaries' barracks, or "great chambers," where the men sleep with lights burning the whole night. "And if any of them upon occasion chance to lie all night abroad without leave, the next evening he is notably beaten, with such nurture and discipline that after his beating, he, like an ape, kisseth the hand that chastiseth him."

The enforced celibacy of the Janissaries was so repugnant to Musalman custom and feeling that we are not surprised that it was not long maintained. But to the last no women were allowed in or near their barracks. Those who were married were allowed to live in the town, and had to resign their rations to their unmarried comrades of their Orta. There were certain defined limits round the Janissary barracks at Constantinople, within which no female was allowed to enter except at her peril. Any one doing so was certain to be outraged, and was debarred from complaint or redress, "even were she a Sultana," says Baron de Tott. Ladies in European dress could not venture at all abroad in the streets of the capital without being insulted by the Janissaries.

The sobriety and frugality extolled by Knolles did not long survive the decay of the ancient discipline. Fifty years later we find Abaza Pasha denouncing the disorderly conduct of the Turkish troops before Erzeroum. The horizon was blackened by the smoke of villages wantonly set on fire, while from their tents were heard all day long the sounds of musical instruments, and the shrieks of the Armenian women and boys. When the Persian Shah besieged Akhis-ka, Abaza Pasha called on the Janissaries in garrison at Erzeroum to march with him to relieve it, "but not one of them would stir from the wine-tavern or the buza-khana."

The drunkenness of the Janissaries was phenomenal among a Muhammadan people, and their devotion to wine was perhaps a reminiscence of their Christian origin. Their enmity to Sultan Othman the Second was greatly enhanced by his raids on the wine-taverns, and his condemning Sipa-

* Buza-khana, *i.e.*, beer-house: the "boozing-ken" of gipsy argot.

his and Janissaries caught in them to the galleys. Turkish literature is full of allusions to the wine-taverns of Constantinople which were the favourite haunts and meeting-places of the soldiery. Gulabi Agha in his remarkable vision, as narrated by Auliya Effendi, comes to himself in a tavern at Galata full of drunken Janissaries, who hailed him, saying, "Come, old man, and drink a pot with us!" Willing or not, they compelled him. When he had escaped from them, on his way home, he again falls into the clutches of a couple of drunken Janissaries who press upon him the same unwelcome hospitality.

Auliya Effendi also tells the following story :—

"It happened one day at a fire which broke out in the quarter of the Jews, that the Bostanji Bashi and the Janissary Agha hastened as is their duty with their troops to extinguish it. Some of them having entered the factory of aquafortis, and seeing a couple of hundred bottles all arranged in rows, took them for so many coloured wines and began to drink with great haste, each man laying hold of a bottle. Thirteen of the men instantly fell down dead, their bodies burning to ashes."

The Janissaries were often accused of themselves setting fire to quarters of the capital for the purpose of pillaging the houses in the confusion. In fact, there was no kind of crime or outrage which they did not commit with impunity, confident of the support of their comrades and despising the weakness of their rulers. The Christian population, from whom they had originally sprung, were the greatest sufferers from their violence and rapacity. The insurrection of the Servians was, as we have seen, caused by the brutality of the Janissary mutineers, who had expelled the Pashas and the Turkish fief-holding horsemen from the country, while they themselves lived at free quarters on the Christian Rayas, whom they treated as conquered enemies. Their savagery was also a principal cause of the outbreak of the Greek insurrection in 1821. Stephen Grellet, a Quaker, who visited Greece on an evangelical mission shortly

before the rising, relates the shocking barbarities daily committed by the Turkish soldiery in garrison at Corinth and in other towns of the Morea. They wantonly cut down unoffending passers-by in the streets of the town, or fired at a peasant going along the road, merely to try their skill in shooting at a mark, and no notice was taken of it.

Cruelty to captives was a common feature of Turkish military operations; and the massacre of prisoners who could not otherwise be conveniently disposed of was an accepted canon of warfare, as it still is with the Afghans and with other Oriental nations. The butchery of the Turkish garrison at Jaffa by Napoleon, which excited horror and disgust among the civilized nations of Europe, caused neither surprise nor resentment in the minds of the Turks. Courage and cruelty are naturally associated in the Asiatic mind, and the Ajam Oghlans, or Janissary recruits, were "blooded," by being employed and encouraged to murder captives of war in cold blood. Many instances of captives taken in a battle being thus massacred after it occur in Turkish history: in 1637 the Turkish Pashas and Sarhad Aghas had repelled the invasion of Hungary by the German army under Kazzianer, before Sultan Suliman could bring up the grand army from Belgrade to their succour. When the Sultan arrived on the frontiers he held a parade of the whole army, and had all the German prisoners, taken in Kazzianer's defeat, brought out bound with cords, and the Turkish recruits fleshed their swords upon the unfortunate captives.

The following incident of this massacre is thus related by Knolles:—

"Among these prisoners was one soldier of Bavaria, of an exceedingly high stature. Him the Sultan, in despite of the German nation, delivered to a little dwarf (whom his sons made great account of) to be slain, whose head was scarce so high as the knee of the tall captive, with that cruel spite, to aggravate the indignity of his death. Whereas that goodly tall man, mangled about the legs a long time by that apish dwarf with his little scimitar, as if it had been in

disport, fell down ; and was with many feeble blows hardly at last slain by that wretch, still heartened on by others to satisfy the eyes of the princes beholding it, for their sport."

It would be an endless task to relate the revolting tales of Turkish treachery and cruelty exercised upon their Christian enemies : as when at Perchtholstadt the Pasha who had just induced the inhabitants to surrender on condition of their lives being spared, gave the signal for their massacre by himself cutting down the trembling girl who had been selected to present to him the keys of the town, in the vain hope that her beauty and helplessness might move the pity of the barbarian. Nothing could extort a spark of chivalry from the Turk except admiration for the valour of his enemies, and this feeling did sometimes mollify his rancour, even towards Christian foemen. Hence Sultan Suliman's generous treatment of the Knights of Rhodes ; and hence the conduct of the Janissaries who shielded the survivors of Zriny's desperate sortie from Sigeth, putting their own caps upon the heads of the captives, to save them from the indiscriminate fury of their comrades. But unfortunately this is a singular instance in Turkish military annals.

"Cruelty in the governor produces a correspondent feeling in the governed ;" and the Turkish practice of giving a reward for the head of every enemy brought in by a soldier was the cause of much barbarity. Colonel Keppel, now Earl of Albemarle, who saw the Turkish armies just after the massacre and dissolution of the Janissary corps, makes some pertinent remarks on this custom, which used, as he says, "to degrade Turkish warfare."

"A Russian General told me that the Cossacks (Kazaks) thought it a very good old custom, and that their officers had occasionally some difficulty in restraining them from the habits they used to practise when allies of the Porte.

"The great Prince de Ligne was wont to observe, that this decapitation did no harm to the dead, was often a benefit to the wounded, and was always useful in reducing the coward to the necessity of self-defence. The veteran's re-

mark was philosophical enough, and proper language to be held in an army in the field ; but it does not detract from the barbarism of the custom."

The Oriental equivalent for our expression "*hors de combat*" is "*sar o zinda*"—"heads and living," i.e., prisoners. Large sums were sometimes given for heads by the Turkish Commanders : often enough to counterbalance the doubtful hope of profit to be obtained by the sale of a prisoner whom the captor might not be fortunate enough to retain. When Napoleon invaded Egypt, twelve dollars was offered by the Pasha of Cairo and the Mameluke Beys for the head of a French soldier. Sometimes rewards were given for prisoners as well as for heads.

The first apparent cause of the decay of the old Turkish military system was the change in the character of their Sultans. During the first two hundred years of Ottoman conquest the scions of the Royal House of Othman had been brought up in the camp amid the soldiery, and entrusted with the government of provinces from an early age. Perhaps the fatal frequency of civil wars for the succession led to their being subsequently educated in the Haram, where they were immured in the custody of women and eunuchs till they came to the throne. The decadence of the Ottoman army and nation can be plainly seen to have commenced immediately upon this fatal change. The Sultan ceased to be the first soldier in his Empire ; the influence of the Court supplanted that of the Camp ; the counsels of women and eunuchs controlled the actions of the autocrat ; and their private predilections guided the public policy of the Empire.

The second, and perhaps the principal cause of the decay of the old Ottoman military system was the universal corruption which from an early period infected every department of the State administration. Peculation and malversation of all kinds found their way into every branch of the Army. Offices were bought and sold : promotion depended upon bribes : women and eunuchs enjoyed the revenues of fiefs ; and

shopkeepers and menial servants drew pay as Janissaries. The Pashas and Sanjak Begs took bribes from the fief-holders to excuse their attendance in the field. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, when there was a general muster for the German War, the fiefs of Rumelia which should have furnished forty thousand horsemen, according to the registers, only mustered eight thousand. This experience and the financial necessities of the State led to the imposition of a money tax in lieu of personal service, called "bedel-i timar," or commutation of fief, and this only led to worse abuses; besides which it struck a serious blow at the principle of universal liability to service. During the administration of the Vazirs of the Kuprili family, who were upright and zealous men, the decay of the army system was arrested, and many of the abuses that had crept in were rectified.

When accurate musters of the forces were taken by Muhammad Kuprili, three thousand Sipahis and seven thousand Janissaries failed to appear, and their names were struck off the rolls.

We have seen how Ahmad Fazil Kuprili had many Janissary officers of high rank executed for misconduct in the face of the enemy: and he made strenuous attempts to restore the ancient discipline. On one occasion when eleven drunken Janissaries murdered a Greek whom they met in the environs of Constantinople, Ahmed Kuprili insisted that they should suffer death for their crime: and when strong representations were made to him that it was inexpedient and impolitic to take the life of eleven Musalmans for one Christian killed, he replied that if the Musalmans were one thousand and one, they should still all die: and the men were executed accordingly. But after his death, things slid back into the old grooves. Sultan Mustafa the Third saw the desperate need of reform, but he shrank from the Herculean task of enforcing it. He took Kiur Pasha, the Janissary Agha, into his confidence, and asked him if he should experience much opposition in revising the pay lists and muster-rolls of the Janissaries. "Not from us soldiers," re-

plied the Agha ; " but those who profit the most from the abuses your Majesty seeks to reform are in the Divan and the Seraglio ; and their gains are shared by many in your Majesty's Household." The Sultan soon found that he spoke the truth, and shrank from grappling with the gigantic evil.

But the illicit profits made by the Aghas and Colonels of the corps had a great share in exciting their determined opposition to reform of any kind : for they perceived that reform once commenced, it would soon be extended to the finances of the Corps : and the Ministers of State and many high functionaries sharing in the plunder on their part aided and abetted the Janissaries in their resistance to the attempts of the later Sultans to re-establish order in the accounts and discipline in the ranks.

The third cause of the failure of the Ottoman standing army system was the decay of the old discipline : which soon disappeared when it was no longer enforced by the example and authority of the Sultans. As soon as the soldiery became supreme in the State, and arbiters of the succession, they naturally deemed the strictness of their discipline too irksome, and their commanders and leaders found it convenient to keep them in a good humour by relaxing its bonds. It was no longer enforced inflexibly according to rule ; but was exercised capriciously, and without regard to justice or moderation : or to the regulation laid down. Thus we find in the present century, and not long before the dissolution of the corps, Janissary officers summarily strangled at orderly room on the pretence of some trifling breach of military etiquette, by the arbitrary command of their Agha, to gratify a personal or political enmity.

One weak point in the old Turkish military system, and which is equally noticeable in their new one, was the want of a body of officers, superior by birth and education to the men whom they commanded. All the officers of the Sipahis and Janissaries and the other regular troops were raised from the ranks, presumably by merit, often

really by favour or bribery. They had consequently no influence or authority over their men, except what was derived from their official station. They were quite ignorant and illiterate, and were the social equals of the men. Warnery says that he saw some Janissaries among a party of Turkish drovers who had brought cattle for sale from Hungary to the fair at Breslau, and one of them was ensign of an Orta. His soldiers, though they addressed him by the title of his rank, paid no other respect to him and treated him as their fellow. In the mutinies and revolutions raised by the Sipahis and Janissaries, the officers and men were always equally engaged : their aims and interests were all in common. It was for this reason that Sultan Selim the First when organizing the Janissary *Etat Major*, decreed that the Agha and the Kulkiaya should be appointed by the Sultan direct, and not promoted from among the officers : but, as a matter of fact, when the Janissary Agha acted contrary to the wishes of the soldiery, he generally fell a victim to their fury.

In the political revolutions which the Sipahis and Janissaries brought about, we often find subaltern officers and privates directing the operations, and assuming control over their own superior officers. In Algiers the Dai or Dey ("Uncle") who was the supreme magistrate of the military oligarchy, was elected from the whole body of Turkish soldiery, and was often a private Janissary. To be the boldest ruffian of a ruffianly band was the chief qualification for the office.

Military exercises were never regularly carried out by the Turkish troops. Sabre and musket practice were performed only at the pleasure of the men ; nevertheless they were always found expert at their weapons, and well trained to their use.

Strategy and tactics were never studied, and the existence of such arts was unknown to the Turks. They had one fixed method of marshalling an army in battle array, which they never varied except by accident.

The Chaushes, who acted as aides and gallopers to an army commander, also marshalled the troops according to his directions, and formed them in line of battle. They did not form ranks, but crowded together in an irregular line three or four deep. Each body of horse, or Orta of Janissaries, left an interval between its flanks, and the troops to its right or left; the width of the interval was not fixed, but was left to haphazard. When the Janissaries assaulted a breach, or forced a bridge or a defile, they were formed in deep columns of Ortas with a narrow front, one behind the other, in the formation which we call "Mass of quarter columns" in our army.

Skirmishing was the favourite method of fighting, both of the cavalry and the infantry. The Sipahis attacked in a swarm, but never charged in line stirrup to stirrup. Their skill in the use of their arms and the management of their horses made them formidable antagonists to the German and Russian cavalry in spite of their ignorance of tactics, and inability to manœuvre. They changed front and direction in a way that appeared miraculous to onlookers for men who had no knowledge of drill.

The Janissary fought best in enclosures, and behind entrenchments, where he squatted with his long pipe at hand, and his long musket resting on the forked crutch of his yataghan, planted in the ground or parapet in front of him. In the charge he grasped his musket in his left hand, using it as a shield, and rushed on with his scimitar brandished in his right, and his head lowered like a bull, often holding up the skirts of his long coat in his teeth.

It was difficult for the best regular troops to withstand the Turks' impetuous rush, and they often broke the lines of German and Russian infantry, just as the charge of the Highland clans always broke the English ranks. Prince Cantemir describing the attack of the Janissaries on the trenches manned by the Brandenburgers (Prussians) at the siege of Buda in 1686 says the Turks fought more like wild beasts than men. At the siege of Corfu in

1716, when Field Marshal Schulemberg so valiantly held that fortress against an overwhelming force, the place must have fallen before the final assault but for the blind fury of the Turkish soldiers, who precipitated themselves in wild confusion upon the strongest points of the works. The Russians always used square formations against the Turks in the last century; and carried portable *chevaux de frise* into the field to check the fury of their first onset: if that failed, the impossibility of rallying and reforming the disordered assailants assured an easy victory to their enemies.

"Happy is that Christian general," says Prince Cantemir, "who sustains the first, second, and third onsets of the Turks. For at the third, or at most the fourth repulse he will certainly see them turn their backs; and if he advances against them with a slow pace, which I have observed to be sometimes done by the Germans, he will perceive them not only to abandon their camp and cannon, but also to put the whole army in disorder by the confused cry of '*Giaour geldi*'—'*the infidel is coming.*' Once indeed, namely in the year 1711 in the battle with the Russians on the Pruth, they renewed the attack seven times: but the reason was that the generals of the Russian army, not being used to an open fight with them, durst not pursue them when they gave way."

It took a hundred years of sound beating from the Austrians and Russians to make the Turks apprehend that there was anything wrong with their military system: a striking contrast to the conduct of the quick-witted Persians, who set to work to raise a regular army on a European model, as soon as they had encountered the Russians in the field and learned by experience the superiority of their tactics. And when the repeated loss of territory and of revenue had at last forced upon the reluctant Sultans of the house of Othman the conviction that their once formidable army was no longer a match for the troops of the Christian Powers, and that the reform of their military system was an absolute necessity, they commenced their reforms at the

wrong end, with external changes in dress and armament : which were most offensive to the conservative feelings of the Turks. The whole army was thus prejudiced against reform from the outset, since it threatened to deprive them of the historical marks of distinction which they were so proud of, and of the weapons which they wielded so well. Sultan Mustafa the Third was the first to see that reform of some kind was absolutely necessary to save the Empire from destruction. In his reign both the standing army and the provincial militia had become quite disorganised, and the disastrous wars against the Russian armies of the Empress Catherine were carried on by Turkish forces composed, for the most part, of bodies of volunteers enrolled for the campaign, and induced to serve by zeal for the Holy War, the prospect of plunder, and the promise of payment for the head of an enemy. Baron de Tott says that in these wars the Porte would not call out the Reserves of the Janissaries, who were the flower of the manhood of the nation, on account of the expense of their pay and rations : but preferred to raise armies of volunteers—armed mobs who brought disgrace and loss on the cause of Islam and the arms of Turkey, and who were more formidable to their own commanders than to the enemy. Instead of serving in their own Orta with their officers and comrades, the Yangichari Yamaki (reserve Janissaries) were to be found among the volunteers, many of them even serving on horseback as volunteer cavalry. When the supply of volunteers fell short, as it soon did when it was found that only hardship and danger awaited them instead of the promised plunder and rewards, the Pashas contracted with Binbashis and Bulukbashis to raise so many thousands or hundreds of men for a campaign : and the Binbashi recouped his own expenditure and paid his men by plundering the country he was engaged to defend.

Even Christians were enrolled in these troops of authorised banditti. Hitherto Christians had never been admitted to the military service of the Sultan except as

auxiliaries : as in the case of the contingents furnished by the Cossacks, and by the Hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia : and the only exception was made in the case of the Marine Corps of Levends, in which the enlistment of Christians was sometimes allowed.

Sultan Selim the Third lost his life and throne in his attempt to introduce military reform : and his successor Sultan Mahmúd was obliged to destroy the old Turkish army before he could attempt to create a new one. But the new army has never taken the place of the old in national tradition or popular estimation. The Turk who would give a heavy bribe for the privilege of tattooing the "Nishan" of a Janissary Orta on his arm, is now ready to pay as much to escape enrolment in the "Nizam" or "Redif." In spite of the Christian origin of the Janissaries, the Turks regarded their Corps with religious veneration : perhaps from the fact of its having been blessed and baptized by the saint Haji Bektash : and in Turkish legends saints and prophets appeared to mortals in the guise of these chosen champions of Islam. Thus, in the vision of Gulabi Agha, the prophet Khizr appears to him first as "a tall handsome man in the dress of a Sipahi," and afterwards as "a young cook of the Janissaries with his silver knife and chains of office."

The first institution of the Janissaries was attributed to the Prophet Muhammad who was said to have taken children of the infidels made captive at the battle of Beder, and trained them to Islam and to arms. The establishment of the corps by Sultan Orkhan and Ala ud Din, was, according to the Turks, simply an imitation of the practice of the Prophet, and the continuance of an institution already sanctioned by his authority.

The Janissary leaven was so strong in the nation that the reforming Sultan Mahmúd formed his "new victorious Army" exclusively of beardless boys, who would, he thought, be less prejudiced against the innovations in the national military system.

Several conspiracies were hatched at Constantinople.

having for their object the re-establishment of the corps of Janissaries; and Mustafa Pasha of Iskúdara (Scutari) in Albania, commonly known to Europeans of the last generation as Scodra Pasha, himself a Janissary, headed a rebellion against the Sultan with the same object. But Mahmúd was obdurate, and every fresh attempt to reconstitute the corps so obnoxious to the Sultan, and so popular with the nation, was met by wholesale executions of its ex-members and its partisans. For during the eighteenth century the corps of Janissaries had in effect become more a political party than a military body. The numerous Yamaks or Reserve Janissaries who were affiliated to it represented all classes of society, and were all pledged to support the policy of the corps in resisting all reform and innovations of European origin: a policy which had the hearty approval and co-operation of the 'Ulama or Doctors of the Law. Its defeat and dissolution broke down the old Musalman exclusiveness, and opened the gate for the admission of the influence of Western civilization.

The Janissaries vanquished, the other military corps of the old Turkish standing army were at once disbanded, except the Topjis or gunners, who were incorporated into the new Army.

It is a curious fact that the Turks should have observed and benefited by the advantages of the institution of a standing Army three hundred years before the same ideas were utilised in the Christian countries of Europe. Yet after they had brought their invention to a considerable degree of perfection, they proved quite unable to maintain it in the same state of efficiency. They resembled the ape, who is glad to warm himself at the camp-fire left burning by the traveller passing through his native woods; but has not wit enough to feed it with more fuel to rekindle its dying embers.

The new army of the Ottoman Empire* suffers from the same evils as undermined the efficiency of the old one. Peculation, corruption, and mal-administration of all

kinds are as rife in it as in every other department under the Turkish Government. The Turkish army is still an army of lions led by asses; and as it was in the days of Zenta and Salankaman, so it has happened in our own time at Plevna, at Shipka, and at Kars.

As in the days of the Sipahis and Janissaries of old, the Turks have still good soldiers, but no officers. A Russian officer, who was prisoner to them in the Crimean War, summed up his description of their army in the pithy sentence, "Every Turkish officer deserves the bastinado, and every soldier a crown of brilliants."

The total dearth of military talent in a people who were, until lately at least, a martial nation, is certainly surprising. Since the days of Suliman the Magnificent, there has not been a single Turkish commander who could be called a good general. Ghazi Hasan was a brave soldier, and with a better education he might have been a clever tactician. Ibrahim Pasha, son of Muhammad Ali, the Viceroy of Egypt, certainly proved a successful general against the Wahhabis of Nejd, and against his own countrymen; but it is doubtful whether his victories were not entirely due to the services of a band of Frenchmen from the Grande Armée, who had made their way after the fall of Napoleon into the Egyptian service, and who were always at his elbow. Omar Pasha, of Crimean War fame, was a renegade Croat, and had been an officer in the Austrian Army.

The Turks made, and still make, the fatal mistake of not employing foreign officers in their army. They will not entrust their troops to the control of Christians, and men of honour will not turn renegade for the sake of advancement.

When Peter the Great reformed the Russian Army, he employed the services of Germans and Frenchmen, and to this day a large proportion of superior officers in the Russian Army are Germans. Had he employed only native Russians, the needful reforms would never have been carried out. It is impossible to form and train an army without officers of ability and experience. This is the rock on

which the vessel of Turkish military administration has split hitherto, and on which it will split again.

The Sultan had at one time Count Von Moltke at his service, and his talents were no more utilised than were those of Colonel Valentine Baker subsequently.

The European system of army organization, drill, and tactics, without Europeans to work it, is as complete a failure as was the old Ottoman military system in modern times. That system grew out of the needs of the nation and of the times, and was well enough adapted to the warfare of the day. But clever heads were wanted to alter it and to make it accord with the improvements in tactics and in the method of carrying on war produced by modern inventions. The Turks are by nature splendid soldiers, but fate has ordained that their formidable fighting qualities shall be always neutralised by the incapacity of their leaders.

When Pyrrhus first proved the valour of his Roman adversaries in battle, he exclaimed, "With such soldiers the world were mine, and were I their General the Romans would have it!" A European leader might say the same of the Turks: and were the Osmanli soldiers led by German and English officers, they might perhaps once more prove victorious, and again renew the memories of their ancient glories.

FRANK H. TYRRELL.

POLITICAL TRAINING OF HINDOOS.*

WHILST Megasthenes was lecturing on moral philosophy and logic in the Madras College, he tried to learn something of Indian politics. To his utter disappointment and disgust he found that the Hindoos had no politics. They had castes and sects, but no party; money and religion were their only politics. They were a subject race; on an equality with the Europeans in the eye of the law, and enjoying the same rights and privileges; but they were oppressed by a consciousness of inferiority which no claptrap speeches or sentimental platitudes could satisfy. The British Government was paternal, and as children they were compelled to accept it. It was a divinity or fate that ruled them for their good, but more or less against their will. It was irresistible, inexorable, and irresponsible; backed up by superior physique, and by force of arms as remorseless as the thunderbolts of Indra.

But India was passing through a new phase. In 1858 the East India Company had disappeared, and Her Majesty the Queen assumed the sovereignty. The change was welcome to the Hindoo princes and people, and they accepted it as the dawn of a new era. The East India Company had always been a mystery; its directors were merchants who had gained the mastership of the Great Moghul, and of Hindoo Rajahs and Maharajahs, and nobody knew how or why. But an Empress-Queen was a divinity incarnate; a goddess of prosperity and goodness like Lakshmi or Durga; and Her Majesty's Royal Proclamation was a new covenant—the rainbow in the cloud after the deluge of the Sepoy Mutinies. Hopes and aspirations danced before the eyes of Hindoos and Mohammedans which

never dazzled their imaginations under the Company's rule. Like children they were awakening to a world of delusions. They were bewildered by a new generation of Englishmen who wanted to revolutionise the people and change the face of India. The world of Asia, the age of palanquins and post runners, was passing away, and Europe, with its railways and telegraphy, was bothering them with new ideas and perplexing realities.

The Brahmans were clutching at the power which was slipping through their fingers. They feigned to sneer at the marvels of Western science. Brahman students told Megasthenes that the gods and sages of old gave weapons to Hindoo heroes that surpassed all European artillery, and mowed down millions of men and demons in the twinkling of an eye. They boasted of the victories of Krishna and the Pandavas over the countless hosts of the Kauravas in the great war of Mahabharata; and those of Rama, and the monkey god Hanuman, in their wars against Ravana, the demon king of Ceylon. They described the rejoicings of the gods of earth, air, and sky, when Rama returned in triumph to Ayodhya with his beautiful and spotless wife, Sita, whom he had rescued from Ravana. They told of towering chariots that flew through the blue ether swifter than the fastest railway train; of flowers falling from heaven; of divine voices that sounded like sweet music through the universe of stars, and of deities whose eyes could see all things,—past, present, and to come.

Megasthenes knew nothing in those days of the Mahabharata or Ramayana. If, however, he had been saturated with the two Sanskrit epics he would have hesitated to ridicule fables which he had neither interpreted nor sifted, and which the Hindoos regarded as holy writ. He was content to urge that Europeans could teach Hindoos how to construct railway trains, steam engines, telegraphs, and balloons; but that no Brahmans could teach them how to forge weapons that would defeat artillery, or to build chariots that could carry armies. He had entered a new

world in which he had more to learn than he could possibly teach. He would not scoff at marvels solely because they were supernatural, nor deride a faith which might have spiritual meanings. He ignored Brahmanical legends until he could discover their origin and purpose. Meanwhile he laboured to explore the world of Hindooism, map it out, measure it, and value it, so that in due time he might mark the results of European civilisation on Asiatic minds.

It is, however, difficult for an Englishman to believe in a country without politics, and a people without party. In the British Isles boys of the same age as the Hindoo students of Madras are often more zealous for party than their seniors. They are Whigs and Tories in the nursery and fight election battles in the playground. Boy Radicals would destroy the British Constitution in order to set up a republic like that of America; Conservative striplings would set up a Church and State which never existed, except, possibly, in the Dark Ages. In India, such voices are never heard. No one sighs for a democracy based upon caste, nor for an aristocracy based on Brahmanism. Young Hindoos may yearn for mastery over Europeans, but only to escape from the restraints and discipline of British administration. Their ideal of happiness is advancement, wealth, safety, and repose.

One day a young Brahman stood up and asked whether it would not be magnanimous for the British Government to give back India to the Hindoos. In a moment the class was on the tiptoe of expectation. Megasthenes had encouraged freedom of speech, and the question was obviously intended to put him in a corner. The young Brahman was a merry-hearted fellow with a keen sense of humour, whom no one could help liking. Megasthenes asked what the Hindoos would do with India if they got it. Were the Brahmans or the Sudras to be masters? Would the Hindoos succumb to Mohammedan or Mahratta, or would they implore the protection of France, Russia, or Germany? Unless all the nations in the world became

magnanimous, Hindoo independence was impossible. It was faintly suggested that India might be ruled by Hindoos and protected by British Armies, but the idea was abandoned by the whole class as impracticable. In a word the Hindoos regarded the British Government as many of us regard the Bible, as something that they cannot always reverence, but as something they cannot do without.

Many years afterwards Megasthenes met the same young Brahman in England, as lively as ever, but with larger experience. He was expounding the views of his fellow-countrymen to the British public, at ladies' tea tables and on public platforms. The great John Bright had spoken to him and he had carried a banner at an election bearing the magic words—"VOTE FOR F——, THE BELOVED OF BENGAL!" He confessed that his popularity was mainly due to a turban. He had worn English costume, including a tall hat, without making much impression. But when he appeared in the same costume, with a voluminous red turban instead of the hat, he was welcomed with acclamations which would have satisfied a Maharajah. Stationmasters bared their heads and bowed before him, and the British public cheered him to the skies. No wonder that he, who had dreamed of a Hindoo empire, should aspire to set up a parliament for India, and pour out a flood of eloquence which should enthral the two hemispheres.

To return to Madras. In 1859 there was a demonstration which resembled a political movement. Hindoos and Mohammedans affected to be sorely troubled about the missionaries. Some years previously a Presbyterian Governor of Madras had proposed to introduce Bible teaching into Government schools and colleges. The old East India Company had been deaf to all such propositions, but during the Sepoy mutinies Exeter Hall called on a Christian Government to do its duty as regards the Bible. Hindoos and Mohammedans professed the utmost alarm. They held a public meeting at Madras and the High Priest of the great pagoda at Conjeveram took the chair. They petitioned the

Secretary of State for India to prohibit British officials from interfering in matters of religion and to exclude all missionaries from Government institutions. They might have spared themselves the trouble. The Secretary of State, the present Lord Derby, had previously remarked that Exeter Hall might as well have talked of a Christian steam-engine as a Christian Government, and that all religions were entitled to protection under British rule.

The Mohammedans had always refused to send their sons to any school where the Koran was not accepted as the highest authority. Accordingly it would not have mattered to them whether the Bible was taught or not in the Madras College. The Hindoos on the other side would have read the Bible, or the Koran, or any other book, but for the fear of becoming Christians, and losing caste. The Hindoo students at the College told stories of at least one boy convert who had forsaken his parents, and abandoned the girl to whom he was married, and who would have been publicly baptised and married to a girl convert had not his parents appealed to the Law Courts. The result was that the boy was restored to his parents, purified of his new faith by strong emetics, and finally restored to his caste and married to his lawful bride.

British administration has removed many evils which festered under Hindoo or Mohammedan rule, but it is not always appreciated by those who have reaped the benefit. The villages are overflowing with an ignorant and superstitious population, and the towns are so few and unimportant that generations must pass away before they can exercise that influence on the masses which has begun to regenerate Europe. The Madras Presidency is larger than Great Britain and Ireland, and has a population of thirty millions, and yet not a single million are dwelling in towns. More than half a million, may be, are dwelling at Madras and other seaports, but they are drawn thither by Europeans. Indeed, there are only four inland towns of any real importance, namely :—Arcot, the Mohammedan capital of the

Carnatic, with a population of 30,000 ; Tanjore, the capital of the extinct Hindoo kingdom of the same name (80,000) ; Trichinopoly (76,000) ; and Madura (51,000).

The masses of Hindoos live in villages, and they are isolated from each other. They occasionally go in shoals to places of pilgrimage, and bathe in the sea by hundreds of thousands whenever there is an eclipse of the moon, but they had never played a part in any public demonstration whatever connected with government or politics. They went on pilgrimages to places near Madras, but they were chary of entering the European quarter. They regarded it as impure, and would not eat or drink within its precincts. When they left it they purified themselves in some tank before returning to their home. Hindoo traders and officials, and those who have received an English education, are free from all such scruples, and the railways have done something during the last thirty years to clear away the superstitious terrors of the village population.

A Hindoo village is not a mere collection of huts or cottages, but a tract of country like an English parish. It includes cultivated lands which are rented out in fields, and grazing lands which are common to all the villagers. It may also include fruit trees, such as coconuts and plantains, and garden plots for vegetables, curry stuff and condiments. Outside the village limits are vast tracts of other lands ; some are culturable but uncultivated from want of ryots to rent them ; others are overgrown with jungle or arid and bare from want of water. In this respect Madras contrasts unfavourably with Bengal, where all the culturable land has been brought under cultivation, and where the population is seventy millions, or more than double that of the Southern Presidency.

In ancient times the Hindoo village may have had an individual life, independent and self-contained. It seems to have been originally colonised by a family or clan, half warriors and half cultivators, who divided the best lands amongst themselves as joint conquerors or proprietors, and rented out

the other lands to outsiders, or employed the aborigines to cultivate them as serfs and slaves. The joint proprietors formed a brotherhood or oligarchy, sharing crops or exchanging fields amongst its members, sharing the rents from the outlying lands, and keeping the government of the village, and especially the control of tanks, wells, and all channels of irrigation, exclusively in its own hands. Every village had a head-man to exercise a certain patriarchal authority within the village limits, or to carry on its dealings with the outer world. He may have been elected in the first instance by the brotherhood of proprietors, but the post would soon become hereditary in his family. Next to him was an accountant, generally a Brahman, who kept a register of shares of crops, exchanges of fields, rent from outsiders, and the share of the yearly harvest which was paid as revenue to the ruling power for the time being. There was also a village constable, who watched the crops, received strangers, arrested thieves and other offenders, and acted as the general servant of the village.

Every village had one or more Brahmans who exercised a spiritual authority in all matters pertaining to the worship of the village gods, the celebration of festivals, the discipline of castes, and the performance of all rites of marriage and other family celebrations. The authority of the Brahman or Brahmans would vary much according to the importance of the village, from a supremacy which overawed the temporal authority of the village head-man, down to a struggling priest officiating in an idol temple, casting nativities, interpreting omens and dreams, and versed in family genealogies. There were also village musicians and dancing girls to perform before the idols, or at public festivals and marriage ceremonies, or to sing the praise of any great man that halted near the village and was entertained by the officials. Every village had also its hereditary professional men, such as the medicine man, the schoolmaster, the astrologer, the goldsmith and money-lender; also its artisans, such as the potter, carpenter, tailor, washerman, barber, and worker in iron or

leather. All these lived out their little lives from father to son as children, married men and grey-beards, until death carried them off and their remains were burned to ashes on the funeral pile outside the village.

The Hindoo village has its daily news, made up of holy men, tigers, ghosts, snakes, thieves, witches, and other common talk. In olden time Hindoo kingdoms rose and fell; they were but villages on a larger scale; a Rajah for head-man, with an army of warriors, and a council of Brahmans. Doubtless there were wars and battles in which thrones were won and lost, and villages by tens, hundreds, and thousands changed hands, and passed from one Hindoo kingdom to another, without any change of fortune for the villagers. At intervals, villages and kingdoms would be thrilled or swayed by those currents of religious thought which stir up all human communities at every stage of development. In the first instance there would be simple-minded barbarians worshipping the spirit of the village and its surroundings, the sun and moon, the tiger, the monkey, and the snake, and the gods of wind, rain and thunder. Amongst this child-like people, there might be advanced thinkers prying into the mysteries of life and death, worshipping a great father and a divine mother, or enquiring into the origin and object of being, and worshipping the emblems of sex as the types of a godhead and creative deities.

The Mohammedan conquerors of the eighteenth century played havoc with the village communities of Southern India. The Nawabs, or viceroys of provinces, were not restrained by Mogul laws or usages, for the Great Mogul was losing all authority in that remote quarter. They cared nothing about the rights of joint proprietors, or quarrels between landlords, or wrongs of the labouring classes. They levied a lump sum in money or grain from every village, and left their own officials to levy the amount as they best could, from the head-man, joint proprietors or tenant cultivators. The revenue officials of the new ruler exacted as

much as possible from every village, and paid as little as possible into the treasury of their lord and master. The wells, tanks, and other irrigation works fell out of repair, for every Nawab in turn accumulated as much treasure as he could, and left his successor to bear the consequences. The joint proprietors disappeared, or were reduced to a dead level with their tenants. The head-man, the Brahman accountant, and the village watchman, generally kept the best lands in their own possession as before, and made the best terms they could with the revenue collectors, who were generally Brahmans. Sometimes the Mahratta or Mysore armies desolated the country and carried off the harvest; and within the last forty years of the eighteenth century the names of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultan spread a universal terror up to the walls of Fort St. George. At other times drought and pestilence depopulated the villages, and large areas of culturable land fell out of cultivation.

When the British came into possession in the early years of the nineteenth century, they found that the village officials, servants, and artisans were still in existence, but that the body of the villagers were all ryots or cultivators. The joint proprietors were gone, and there was little or no distinction between the holders of fields or farms, and the common labourer. Accordingly the whole village was no longer held responsible for a fixed yearly revenue, but the ryot alone was responsible. Rents were fixed for fields by mutual agreement, or according to what had been fixed by previous custom, and rough estimates of the aggregate yearly crops. This settlement was known as the ryotwarry, or settlement with individual ryots.

Meanwhile British administration was introduced on a regular system. The Madras Presidency was divided into twenty large counties or collectorates, each on an average larger than Yorkshire. A British Civil Station was founded outside the most important town in the collectorate, and formed the headquarters of the two British magnates in the county, namely, the collector, who superintended the

collection of the land revenue, and the judge, who superintended the administration of justice. Each of these magnates was a prince in his way, with a host of subordinates in his train, consisting of assistants, covenanted and uncovenanted, and native officials of all grades and conditions. The collector was a magistrate by virtue of his office, disposing of all minor matters, but committing the more heinous offenders to prison, for trial by the judge. He might thus have been called the pro-consul of the division or collectorate, responsible, not only for the revenue, but for the peace and order in the collectorate. The judge was a Lord Chancellor for the disposal of civil suits, and a Sessions Judge for the trial of criminals. The Civil Station was the centre of all the official life in the collectorate. The collector and the judge might go into their respective camps at favourable seasons of the year, and make tours or progresses through their respective jurisdictions, but the Civil Station was always their headquarters. In a word, the Civil Station was the capital of the collectorate, and the collector and the judge were the local divinities of the villagers, who knew little or nothing of the Governor and Council at Madras, and were often ignorant of the name of the Governor.

At Madras there was a Revenue Board to control the collectors, and a Law Court, known as the Sudder or "State," to control the judges. Both the Revenue Board and the Sudder Court heard appeals from the decisions of collectors and the judges. Both were composed of Madras civil servants: the head of the Revenue Board was a member of Council, and the chief judge of the Sudder was the other member. The Governor was, *ex-officio*, President or Chairman of the Council. He was a nobleman or statesman appointed by the Crown, and brought nothing to bear upon the administration of India but European experiences; but he had the ablest Madras civilians to advise him according to the light of local regulation and precedent. The Commander-in-chief of the Madras army also sat occasionally as third member.

Between 1858 and 1862, the abolition of the East India Company was followed by changes which have left their mark to this day, but not the mark that was expected. In 1858 the Government of Madras was purely executive. Ever since 1833 it had been icebound by the centralising policy of Lord William Bentinck which was embodied in the Charter Act of that year. It had been stripped of all responsibility, and fettered in the iron bondage of red tape and routine. It could not create a new appointment however small, nor repair a road nor build a bridge, without the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council at Calcutta. Before 1854 it could not make a new law for Southern India, which was a *terra incognita* to Bengal, nor even get rid of an obsolete law, until the measure had been debated and considered by the Governor General in Council of Bengal; nor, after 1854, until it had been debated in like manner by the Legislative Council of India sitting at Calcutta. In public spirit, Madras was not behind Calcutta or Bombay, but it was chilled by sheer lack of sympathy and by hopes long deferred. It had obtained sanction for the new land revenue survey and assessment, but only after a battle which had lasted for nearly a generation. Its official life was grave and impressive, and would have reminded lookers-on of the frosty respectability of Mr. Dombey, but for the smiles and courtesies which were rarely wanting in Madras civilians.

A Local Council was created at Madras in 1861 to make laws for Southern India. The executive remained the same, but was converted into a legislature by the addition of non-official British merchants and a few Asiatic gentlemen nominated by the Governor in Council. But the sanction of the Government of India was required to every measure. Repression and centralisation still reigned supreme, and to this day Madras would be as powerless as of old, were it not that railways and telegraphs bring it nearly close to headquarters, and at critical moments can possibly compel Simla or Calcutta to take action.

Besides the Sudder Court of civilian judges which had been created by the East India Company, there was a Supreme Court of barrister judges from Westminster Hall, which had been created by the Crown. The Sudder and Supreme Courts were grand institutions in their day, but are now amongst the things that were. The Sudder Court dispensed Mofussil law according to the Company's Regulations ; the Supreme Court dispensed English law according to the Statutes of Parliament; with some discretion in cases where Hindoos or Mohammedans were concerned. The quarrels and collisions between the Sudder and Supreme Courts are forgotten now, for both are merged into the present High Court, in which civilians and barristers sit side by side. Asiatic judges also sit on the same bench for the first time in the history of India. Such is the irony of fate in dealing with the Supreme Court. It began at Calcutta with hanging one distinguished Brahman for forgery. It ended in the elevation of other distinguished Brahmins to the position of judges in the High Courts of all three Presidencies.

As far as Megasthenes could ascertain, neither the Hindoo students in the Madras College nor the masses of Hindoos in the villages cared one jot for the promotion of Asiatic judges or the nomination of Asiatic members of Council. Some of the students may have dreamed of individual advancement, and there may have been rivalries and jealousies amongst Asiatic lawyers, but that was all. As to any general satisfaction of the Asiatic subjects of Her Majesty at the advancement of one or more of their number to posts of honour, there was absolutely nothing of the kind.

Two great reforms as regards land revenue, however, were in progress, and excited deep interest amongst the masses of Hindoos, and were warmly approved by the Madras students. The first was a new revenue survey and assessment of the land in the Madras Presidency. The second was a commission for enquiring into the value of Inam lands, or religious endowments for the maintenance of

Brahmans and others, which had been granted rent free by previous rulers. Both were burning questions in India, and the day may not be far distant when both may be burning questions in the British Isles, where land rents and endowments must sooner or later become ripe for legislation.

The Madras land revenue survey and assessment was carried out on much the same lines as Griffiths' valuation of land in Ireland. It was a minute and exact calculation of value according to the nature of the soil and average outcome of the harvests of the year after payment of all expenses, which rendered it possible to fix a yearly rent which satisfied both the State as landlord and the cultivator as tenant. It was also combined with strict measurements of the fields and mappings out of village areas, which were wanting in Griffiths' valuation. The result, as explained by Hindoo students, was a large reduction of rents, a still larger cultivation of waste lands, and an increase in the aggregate land revenue. Hindoo students boasted that their fathers and uncles, who had worked hard for years in the cultivation of one farm, were now enabled to cultivate several additional fields without exceeding the previous rental.

Land revenue in Southern India was thus saved from the vortex of politics. But for the new survey and settlement the Hindoo Congress might have claimed a share in the Government on the same ground that Ireland has striven for Home Rule. Indeed had the same accurate survey and assessment been carried out in Ireland the agitation for Home Rule would have died out long ago. A new survey and settlement of the land in Ireland, on the same precise and exhaustive plan which has been carried out in every Presidency and province in India except Bengal, would have done more towards pacifying the sister Isle than Home Rule or Judicial Rents, and must sooner or later be undertaken by the powers that be. Fortunately for the British Empire, India has been saved from all such disaffection, and the Hindoo Congress may be left to plan out its Constitutions, just as the advanced philosophers of the seventeenth century

planned out those Republican forms of government for England which have long since been consigned to the limbo of oblivion or are only embalmed by the derision and scorn of Lord Macaulay.

J. TALBOYS WHEELER.

TEN DAYS IN MYSORE.

ONE sunny day last year, Lord Connemara, accompanied by his aide-de-camp, Lord Marsham, and his private secretary, myself, left the hill headquarters of the Madras Government at Ootacamund, on a visit to the Maharaja of Mysore, with which pleasure the Governor meant to combine the business of investigating the water-supply for the Madras troops stationed at Bangalore, and of visiting the Depot, whence remounts are supplied to the Cavalry and Artillery of the Madras army.

Government House, Ootacamund, is situated on the slope of the highest hill in Southern India, and our road lay for several miles through evergreen woods of ilex and engenia, and over grassy downs, covered at this season with a beautiful white balsam peculiar to the Nilgiris. Soon, however, began the descent, happily to the Mysore plateau, and not to the hotter Avernus of the plains. As every thousand feet or so are left behind, the character of the hill-side changes. First we make a short cut through potatoes and barley for a few miles. This is the cultivation of the industrious settler, called, on the hills, the northerner. He and his are fast acquiring the Nilgiris from the indigenous idler, the Toda herdsman, who lives in his wicker and daub oven-shaped house on the emerald turf, and is satisfied with the scanty earnings which he spends in drink. Next we reach the coffee zone, the plantations looking like red and green chess boards, and yielding this year a crop, remunerative indeed, though not to the same degree as that of last year.

Here is a rest-house for Europeans alongside a waterfall, by which one of the numerous streams that we cross and

recross when hunting the jackal on the hills makes two long drops to the larger river it joins below. We ride on, halting a moment to admire a string of dahlias hung across the road by the polite keeper of the turnpike, and some cypresses growing in a road-side garden. Odd it is that the symbol of grace and womanly beauty in the East should be the "hated" and the "funerall" cypress of Horace and of Spenser. However, little time is allowed for literary reflections, when many breakneck miles lie before us, so we pass the rest-house and ride on to the foot of the hills, beyond which the road passes through grassy lawns and uplands, now sparsely, and now thickly wooded. This is a great haunt of the sportsman. Elephants abound, and cartmen will not travel at night. Bison and deer roam about the vast forest that stretches away to the distant Canara, and along the berme of the road are frequent signs of wild pigs, who dig about for roots, and are in consequence highly unpopular in an agricultural country. Not that there is any agriculture here. Fever depopulates the country side, and nothing but the excellent pasturage accounts for the existence of the wretched village of bamboo and daub, at which, after a ride of eighteen miles, we halt for breakfast.

The wild Korumber tribe that lives about these jungles supplies trackers to the manner born, of marvellous sagacity. One of our party, Captain Wyndham Quin, who stayed behind to shoot, tells us of their skill, How they hurry along like sleuth hounds, deriving inspiration now from a bent twig, and again from a crushed leaf. At one time they will halt to discuss a little foamflake on a bough, at another hold a board of inquiry on a blade of grass, and decide how long it is since a bison has browsed thereby. And in the end it is rarely their fault if you do not see your quarry.

Here we learn that a road overseer lately met a tiger on the road near the waterfall. He, by his own account, was a stranger to fear, and put the tiger to flight, but his pony, he said, died a week later from fright. Hence to the frontier and for a dozen miles beyond it, our path lies through thick

jungle, of which the characteristic features are the waving green feathers of the bamboo, and the giant leaves and monster lila-like flowers of the teak-tree. The little bit of red, dear to a distinguished artist, is not wanting, and two well-mounted lancers of the Maharaja's Cavalry canter behind us. Picturesque-looking fellows they are, and a perfect contrast, though not in smartness, to the Brahman Superintendent of Police, son of a late minister of Mysore, who also forms part of the escort.

In front of the Bungalow where we pass the night, was the grave of a European killed by a tiger, as we are told by the local official, whose grandfather's sister married the Tiger of Mysore—Tippoo Sultan.

This village, in the centre of the island province of Mysore, is inhabited to a great extent by men of the fisher caste, who are occupied in various trades. Let this fact, and the presence of a hard-riding police officer, son of a Brahman prime minister, serve for passing proofs that caste is not inelastic in Modern India, if indeed it ever was, which I wholly disbelieve. In fact its application to diversity of occupations is generally misunderstood.

Next morning we pass along through fields of Indian corn, beneath an avenue of banyans, till the tower of a temple rising above the cocoanut trees indicates the site of Nangengode, where we halt through the heat of the day in a spacious house of the Maharaja, on the banks of an affluent of the Cauvery. But first we are covered with kindness and smothered in oleanders, champaks and other holy and heavy scented flowers. The stem of every tree for fifty miles along the avenue is girdled by three bands of paint, a native sign of welcome. There is a famous Hindu temple here, on the site of which some four hundred Zain priests were, it is said, killed two centuries ago, by the Rajah of the day. He had once inclined to the Zain religion, but after succeeding to the throne abandoned it, and finding its priests thwarted his agricultural and other reforms invited them all to a reception. As each one, after making his bow, walked away down

a passage, he was dexterously beheaded and tumbled into a pit dug for the purpose. In this way four hundred malcontents were disposed of as methodically and expeditiously as so many pigs by a pork-packer in Chicago. It is recorded that their removal was so well arranged that the pomp and circumstance of the royal reception were in no way interfered with thereby. A graver historian than I am is the authority for the tale.

In the afternoon we make Mysore, within a few miles of which a whole regiment of the red lancers, another of infantry, six gorgeously caparisoned elephants, a few camels, a state carriage drawn by four white horses, and other paraphernalia of Eastern state await the Governor's arrival. Thence amongst prancing horses, waving lance flags, and drawn swords, we enter the Capital, to the obvious satisfaction of the crowds assembled,

Next morning we rode up the hill sacred to the goddess Kali, of Chamundi, who slew the buffalo monster after whom the province is named. As the Calcutta correspondent of the London *Times* gives of late, I think, the impression that barbarous sacrifices are not uncommon in India, I may say that it is indeed long since the Goddess was propitiated by human blood, and that she is the protecting deity of a state ruled over by so enlightened and benevolent a ruler as the Maharaja of Mysore, whose kind and prince-like hospitality we are enjoying. Like most goddesses she has many aspects, and here she is represented as an Eastern St. George slaying the dragon which devastated the fair province of Mysore. Undoubtedly she has other and more terrible attributes, and in one form or another is the dread divinity that rural India chiefly worships.

The afternoon was devoted to the Palace, which, like a bisected doll's house, presents an open front to one side of a square. Above the deep verandas of the lower story is a throne corridor, and here the Maharaja at the chief festival of the year sits in State on a throne as gorgeous as the Peacock throne erewhile of Delhi. All the people can see their

Sovereign up above from the open square, but only the rich and great file by him as he sits silent and immovable upon his golden seat. Athletes fight and wrestle below, trumpets blare, elephants scream, cymbals clash, torches flare, and the air is heavy with the scent of ceremonial flowers. The Hindus say that the eyes of mortals blink, because the tears which for their sins they shed have weakened them, but the eyes of the deathless gods blink not at all. Hence an attitude impassive and immovable even to the negation of a blink, is that to be achieved as far as possible on this most interesting and truly oriental occasion. A Raja when he assumes the God should *not* affect to nod.

The forests of Mysore are renowned for teak and sandal and other stout and scented trees. The tall pillars of these halls are all of native wood painted red and yellow, as are the ceilings. Beyond the hall is a courtyard, in the centre of which is a canopied Circus, wherein the little princes will learn to ride, under the eye of their father, a very good horseman himself. A dark and narrow passage, lighted by lamps in the early afternoon, leads to a covered and barred enclosure, where pearls, diamonds, and rubies, silver cords and golden bowls, worth in all perhaps £300,000, are spread out for our inspection on a carpet embroidered with pearls and other precious stones, itself worth £20,000. There are, too, castles of gold and of silver, etc., for the backs of elephants, Howdahs they call them. Let us pass on to the armoury, and wield the sword of Tippoo Sultan, "a very practical weapon," as we are told by the conqueror of King Theebaw, who is present. There is another, and most disagreeable weapon, a dagger with a spring. You drive the blade home, and squeeze the handle, and out spring a few saws and knives, that must catch something vital. Next comes the Library, where we see books scratched by a style upon palmyra leaves, bound with laths, with silver, with steel, and with ivory, all length and no breadth, and arranged like children's bricks in neat towers, with the title of each written on ivory, or graven on metal, as the case may be. In

every room are pictures of white-limbed divinities, who seem to have accomplished that bisexuality of which the late Lawrence Oliphant told us so much in his latest revelation. To the picture gallery you pass through doors of ivory with carved panels, and within you see other doors of silver with big bosses, a pattern originally adopted, they say, because of the discomfort it occasions to elephants or other living battering-rams. The pictures are most quaint and interesting; the floor is black stone inlaid with brass; and that once precious metal, silver, is freely used in all the appointments of the room, which is low and dark, and has the fascinating air, uncommon in the East, of having been occupied, valued, and cared for, through many a changing year.

All this Eastern magnificence is not incompatible with the use of the latest Western inventions, as we are reminded when a telephonic message is sent to the stables a mile away to say "we may be expected there immediately."

Next morning we visited Seringapatam, crossing the Cauvery river, on the stone-stepped margin of which women were bathing, and washing their brazen household vessels, which flashed in the sunlight. These bathing ghats are almost always beautiful, and the native women look most graceful, with their yellow silk or blue cotton clothes clinging closely to their figures. Bamboos hang over the water's edge, and vegetation is picturesquely completing the destruction of the Fort, which was begun by the British cannon. We see the corner where the breach was made by which the troops entered, and the place where they divided into two parties: one to push Tippoo further backwards into the Fort, and the other to complete its circuit and to stay its master, as he sought to gain his Palace, and there make a last stand. The Fort is not in itself particularly interesting; but its site on an island, around which flows the sacred Cauvery, is at once strong, striking, and picturesque. A voluble apothecary told us everything. He explained the paintings on the walls of the Deria Dowlat, a

beautiful garden house of open halls and verandahs painted most gorgeously, yet most tastefully, in red, yellow, and gold. The boughs of trees penetrate into the upper verandahs, and on the walls are depicted Hyder and Tippoo on the march to defeat Colonel Baillie. Either Prince sits on a state elephant in a golden howdah, smelling a rose—the traditional attitude in which Eastern Kings are painted. Further on they meet Colonel Baillie and proceed to demolish himself and his Army. Heads are flying on every side in this Homeric Contest, and in the centre Colonel Baillie, splendidly attired in full-dress uniform and seated in a palanquin, bites the thumb of disappointment. Close to him a magazine is exploding, and one native water-carrier, with a skin full of water, essays to quench the flames. The presence of Count de Lally on a prancing steed leads the apothecary, himself a native, to explain that “The French always joined with native States—hence their downfall.” He also tells us that Tippoo’s General, Meer Saduk, was a traitor “same like the Christian Judas.” This summer-house is called the Sea of wealth, and its lavish decorations, which cover every inch of wall from first to last, from top to bottom, recall the Palaces of Ispahan and resemble nothing that I know in India. The common tomb of Hyder and Tippoo somewhat resembles the Taj Mahal, at Agra, in design, though not of course in size or beauty. A walk, bordered by a double row of areca palms and cypresses, leads in a straight line to a white Saracenic dome raised upon a platform, which is supported by black marble pillars. The tombs of the conquered have been well cared for by the conquerors, and everything suggests reverential regard for the dead. The doors of the Mausoleum are of rosewood inlaid with ivory; the windows are of fretwork carved in black marble; incense burns within, and silken cloths cover every tombstone. Solemnity and simplicity, here, as elsewhere, characterise the last resting place of Mussalman Princes.

Then we drove back to Mysore past the Grove of Palms, where the Duke of Wellington lost his way, and many of his men, the day before the fall of the Fort.

There are few prettier sights than a Hindu High Caste Girls' School, and next day at the Maharani's School we saw five hundred well dressed, much bejewelled and intelligent girls running from six to sixteen years of age, who sang English, Sanscrit and Canarese and played on the Vinah, the violin, and all kinds of instruments. They learn, amongst other things chemistry and physiology, hygiene and needlework, and are much devoted to their Maharani of Mysore, and that warm and true friend of Indian women, Lady Dufferin, who from the walls encourages their studies. Not only are they well educated, but many of them are extremely pretty, and not a few leave their babies daily to come and improve their minds. Herein they seem to surpass their Western sisters in the race for knowledge, but then the babies appear at what their Western sisters would consider an absurdly early date.

Next morning the Red Lancers took us to the station and we travelled in the train, over an undulating tableland, past gardens of plantain trees, of sugar cane and areca palms, the eighty-five miles which divide Mysore from Bangalore. The Lancers were a great feature of our journey through Mysore, and Colonel Hay has made them as smart almost as British Cavalry. We entered Seringapatam by the Railway bridge with much greater ease than did Lord Harris and the Duke of Wellington; but the traveller cannot help thinking what a pity it is that a bridge somewhat in keeping with the historical associations, romantic surroundings and beautiful scenery has not been built. However, economy before all things, and this metre gauge line was constructed for the very moderate sum of £650,000. We see the bathers in the river as we had the day before, but I have since read in a pamphlet published by the apothecary cicerone that the women of this place are "long-tongued, indifferent to their husbands and frequently to all males." I have learnt too, that when citizen (?) Tippoo appealed to the Republican Governor of the Isle of France for aid against the hated

English, he offered his allies "every thing that was necessary for making war, with the sole exceptions of wine and brandy." One other tale of Seringapatam before we leave it. Hyder Ali affected to maintain the ancient Hindu dynasty while actually ruling in Mysore; and on the death of the puppet Rajah of the day found it necessary to select from half a dozen children of the royal house one to place upon the empty throne. To discover which had the right stuff in him, he offered the little ones a lot of toys amongst which was a dagger, and the child who chose the dagger was the one he chose for King.

At Bangalore we were received by Sir Harry Prendergast, the Resident, and saw in his charming house some interesting mementoes of Mandalay, one of which, a silk curtain embroidered with Chinese dragons, was extremely beautiful and came from King Theebaw's palace. In Burma as in China silk is your only wear, and you have it of all shades and colours, from ordinary orange, red, and blue to such tender and indefinite tints as "pink summer snow."

Social functions and national sports must have their turns, and after more escorts, guards of honour, salutes and the like, we all went to the Bangalore Races, where we met His Highness the Maharaja. We saw too His Highness Sultan Mahomed Shah, grandson and successor of Aga Khan, at once prince and high priest, and, in his day, the greatest patron of the turf in India. It is impossible to convey to the untutored Western mind the real position held by this pretty boy, the founder of whose family, by the way, was the Chief of the Assassins, the Old Man of the Mountains, the ruins of whose eyrie you may yet see in the mountains of the Elburz by the Caspian Sea. The only possible parallel that I can suggest would be that of a horse-racing Cardinal, and this I will not seriously maintain. Had Mr. Launde been a follower of the prophet, his priestly office would never have interfered with his love of horse-racing.

Next day began the most serious business of the Tour, and we rode, accompanied by engineering experts, about the

country, seeing the sites of various projects for the supply of good drinking water to the Troops. The town of Bangalore is situated at a height of 3113 feet above the level of the sea, and being built itself on a higher level than all its surroundings, no schemes are feasible except such as provide for taking advantage of trifling local depressions, storing the surplus rainfall in convenient localities, and pumping the water to such height as may enable it by gravitation to be brought to the perhaps distant cantonment. Many schemes have been talked of; one has been carried out with only partial success. It is very pleasant to ride over the cool and bracing Mysore plateau, and enquire into engineering projects, but a description of them is far from interesting to the general reader, and there are some who go so far as to hold with the Engineer in charge of the works that regulate the existing supply. He says that men who are thrown off their horses, and killed *on the spot* at Bangalore, are the only ones that are allowed by the Doctors not to have died from drinking bad water.

Next day is spent in similar inspections and in going again to the races. The course is a beautiful sight on a fine day. Across the crowds of natives clad in garments of all colours, and over the Steeplechase course, some of the jumps of which are natural hedges of heliotrope and Lantana, you see the famous rock fortress of Savandroog and other high and isolated rocks characteristic of the country and admirably suited for the fastnesses of armed plunderers in the not long past days of rapine and of bloodshed.

Two more days thus passed in riding about the plateau all day, till the soldiers declared we had water on the brain, and in going to dinners and balls all night, and witnessing one morning a parade of all the troops in the garrison. It was pleasant, in the midst of all our alarms about the army, to see regiments of British Cavalry and Infantry respectively, 400 and 900 strong on parade.

On Saturday we left for the Remount Depot just outside the Mysore frontier and in British territory, 30 miles from

Bangalore. Here we saw 700 Australian horses, most of them good ones. The place looks quite English, but a few days ago a gentleman driving a team there saw a cobra on the road, and told his groom to kill it. The groom struck it, and the animal was making off, when the driver moved on, hoping to crush it under the wheel. The enraged snake thereon climbed up the wheel and into the carriage where a lady was sitting. A most curious and exceptional occurrence and a most obtrusive snake. Ordinarily you may pass your life in India without seeing one. Here in the most English looking part of the continent, the most poisonous of snakes positively invades a lady's carriage.

Next day we ride to Oosoor, a polyglot village, where we are received in a gigantic bower of mango branches, inspect silos and stock farms, and preach sanitation. The house we stay in is in one of Tippoo Sultan's Forts. An English prisoner was ordered to build it, but when the Sultan found it was commanded by a neighbouring hill, he had the builder's head hacked off by the village cobbler with his cobbling knife. So at least the legend runs, and it is generally credited, for some bones, believed to be those of the unfortunate Hamilton, were lately found.

On the rocky hill side was carved a gigantic figure of Sugriva, a lion among monkeys, the magnanimous ape who assisted Rama to recover his ravished spouse.

The stock farm here is only one of many, unhappily not very successful, endeavours to improve the agricultural stock of the country. It seemed to require a great many improvements itself. Indeed it was considered that a beginning should be made by abolishing it. I remember on board a stage in California, asking a driver why it was that Dakota, I think, was not made a State but remained a Territory; and he said, "Most of the people who live there will require killing before they can be turned into American citizens." Too many of our stock-breeding and agricultural experiments are found in like manner to be of such a character that their total abolition is the first step towards

their improvement. We too often forget that the Indian cultivator well understands the cardinal principles of successful agriculture.

Next day we returned, to Bangalore and spent a most improving afternoon in visiting the lines of that distinguished corps, the Madras Sappers and Miners, who have been in almost every fight in which the British Army has been engaged, for nearly a century. They are great, however, not only in the art of war, but in the arts of peace. They make all their own equipments and are experts as carpenters, coopers, painters, smiths, armourers, gunsmiths, bricklayers, tile makers, stone cutters, masons, telegraphists, photographers, printers, and surveyors. No man is admitted into this corps unless he knows some trade, and no man enlists who, for caste or other reasons, is above putting his hands to anything. No less than 500 children too are educated in these lines, and we saw funny groups of little boys seated on the ground and tracing the figures of the alphabet in the sand. The leader of the tiny class called out the name of the letter, on which all the others took it up in a sing-song chorus and repeated, it until its shape and name were well impressed in their little memories. We hear and write a vast amount about technical education, but here apparently we saw the actual living thing.

It goes without saying that the day like every other day concluded with a dinner party and a ball.

It must be remembered all this while, that on the Bangalore plateau the thermometer in July only varies from 72° to 82° degrees in the shade, and that the European can stand a great deal more here than he can on the plains. The Mysore plateau is to the low country all around it what one of its own *droogs* or hill forts is to itself; and the holder of this healthful and beautiful country has always dominated the hot plains with their less strong and less warlike inhabitants. The troopers of His Highness the Maharaja who followed the Governor about on escort duty belonged to the class which furnished Hyder and Tippoo with their

fighting men. It is more than probable that they are not in love with these piping times of peace, and say to themselves with the Sikh Chieftain in Sir Lepel Griffin's poem :

"Cursed be the boasted progress that hunts our sons to school,
"That breaks the sword, that snaps the spear and bids our courage cool."

The peasantry still regard powder and shot with unconcern, the result however not of use but of natural apathy. Some time ago a battery practising near Bangalore is said to have dropped a shot close to a village, and enquiries were at once instituted as to whether by accident anything of the sort had happened before, and whether the people objected to such dangerous practice in their immediate vicinity. The villagers who were examined said, "O yes! those gentlemen of the artillery are always aiming at us, but as no one gets hurt we have no objection and don't think any change necessary." Historians tell us too that when the south of India was one big battlefield, the peasants would go on cultivating around the combatants, only pausing to ask which side had won. That *was* an interesting question, for it meant a change of landlords.

On the morning of our last day at Bangalore we travelled 44 miles by train and 11 miles by road to the Mysore Gold mines. The Railway Station is Kolar-road, and hard by at Kolar is the tomb of the father of Hyder Ali. Here I would remark that, as I understand what is on record on the subject, Hyder Ali was by no means a man of low birth or inferior position, though his family was subjected to the vicissitudes of poverty during his youth and adolescence. It is so usual for historians to assert that men who have risen to the top of the ladder began below its lowest rung that I think it worth while to correct what I believe to be an erroneous impression. However, no one can understand these questions who is not accustomed to Mussulmans and their ways. For instance I was once travelling in Kurdistan with a Mussulman servant, and we

lived in every respect on terms of equality; but one day, when I was staying with a village khan, he and I were sitting on the ground taking tea and smoking the hubble-bubble, and he said, "Don't you see your servant standing listening?" "Yes" said I, "I have no objection." "No," rejoined he, "but he can't listen comfortably if he is standing. Can't we make room for him on the carpet?" And so immediately he sat down and joined us at tea. There was no feeling on either side that any one was out of place. Again, I knew a Mussulman official in India of considerable position, who had to be made very much of when he came to call, and I had a dressing boy who also was a Mussulman. In the day, I would make much of the official, and in the evening, he would entertain my servant at dinner. The equality in some sense which is possessed by all believers *vis à vis* of one another, makes it most difficult for Englishmen to appreciate their social relations. I only assert that Hyder Ali was not from an Eastern point of view, and as a Mussulman, a man of low birth, and of humble position.

To return to the Gold Mines. The first we visited was that of Nundidroog where we saw big lumps of gold mixed with quicksilver put into a crucible, tried in the furnace and converted into ingots, worth £600 a piece, before our very eyes. From this mine—so the officials told us—they had for six months been sending home on an average about £1500 worth of gold per month.

Then we drove on to the Mysore mine, where 60 heads of Californian stamps were at work crushing the auriferous and diaphanous quartz into thin powder, which passes through tiny perforations at the base of the stamps, on to a copper plate smeared over with quicksilver, in its passage over which the gold is arrested. Below this plate is a bed of quicksilver, and, below that, a slide covered with flannel, which will catch a little gold; and after passing through all these stages the residue is caught in a trough and churned up with quicksilver. The residue in this, the largest mine we visited, is said to produce the respect-

able sum of £5000 a year. But nothing had so much effect on me as the ingots of light yellow gold, immensely heavy, and worth £600 a piece, which we saw at Nundidroog Mines, first sparkling in a crucible and next hardened into bars. We heard a great deal about the fuel question, and it seems that it is cheaper to use patent fuel here than coal. Wood, however, yet holds the field against either, though $2\frac{1}{2}$ tons of wood will only go as far as one of coal. There are 2000 men working in this mine, and great care is taken to provide amusement for the European miners. A Recreation Room serves for billiards and for church, an extremely un-denominational establishment, devoted to the use of any sect that likes to apply for it—the sort of place, I should think, of which a rational Robert Elsmere would approve. We were told that the Mysore Mine sends home on an average about £7000 a month, and that a local superstition exists here, similar to one I heard at the turquoise mines in Persia. The native workmen say that a demon guards the gold, and they attribute every accident that happens with the machinery, with the dynamite, or anything else, to the malevolence of this guardian of the subterraneous treasure. They frequently sacrifice cocks at the bottom of the shafts, and hang around their necks necklaces made of dynamite caps. In like manner at Nishapur they say that the Genius who guards the turquoise underground leads on the hapless miner from day to day, and month to month, until at last he finds the precious blue stone; and then the Genius abstracts its colour. Hence it is that buying turquoises is a hazardous affair, and that arrangements have to be made to pay for a stone, when the lapse of a term agreed upon has proved that its colour is fast. We also visited the Ooregaum Mines, and came away with our pockets stuffed with its highly auriferous quartz.

These gold mines, whatever may be their future—and those who are ignorant should not prophesy—are of great value in opening out an otherwise somewhat unremunerative

tract of the Mysore plateau. A very competent authority recently reported that the gold fields afforded all around ample evidence of earnest work and rapid progress, of a determination to succeed. The Government of His Highness the Maharaja in an order recently republished in the *Mining Journal*, as were the proceedings from which I quote above, has resolved to extend for a period of 20 years on existing terms all leases under which mining operations have made substantial progress, and are being vigorously prosecuted. It will be interesting to revisit Kolar after the lapse of a year or two, and see what effects the energy of the miners and the liberal behaviour of the government have produced.

We had escaped from the evil genius that guards the gold, from the intricate machinery, the noisy stamps, the yawning shaft, and the saluting dynamite, but the day was long and hot, and a garrulous fellow traveller proved to me a greater trial than all these.

“Hunc neque dira venena nec hosticus auferetensis ;
Nec laterum dolor, aut tussis, nec tarda podagra ;
Garrulus hunc quando consumet cunque.”

“Sun, fever, dynamite, and sword you brave
But bores will hunt you to an early grave.”

Lest my readers say as much of me, let me hasten to descend the ghat to the plains below, and after a railway journey of 238 miles, ascend another ghat to the Nilgiris, there to spend a month before making another tour.

J. D. REES.

AFFGHAN POETRY OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

It is curious to note, in spite of the daily increasing importance, for professional reasons, of a thorough acquaintance with the language of the Affghans to the majority of our Anglo-Indian Officials, whether of the military or civil profession, and also of the interest attaching to the study of the language of this, one of the most peculiar of the populations with whom, in the course of the extension of our Oriental territories, we have ever been brought in contact—independently of the fact of the length of our acquaintance and connection with the land of their homes, and the stirring episodes in our national history which have occurred and may yet occur in the course of our intercourse with this country and its inhabitants; it is, as I say, strange to note the apathy with which the study of the Affghan language is taken up now-a-days, even by those whom we should most expect to feel an interest in the subject. And, if this is the case regarding the language itself, still more is it so with regard to its literature, which could, under any circumstance, be only expected to come under the notice of such as had pursued their studies in the language to a sufficient extent to be able to appreciate its merits.

There are but very few now-a-days who appear to be acquainted to the most superficial extent, hardly indeed further than in name, one might almost say, with the works of its most famous authors, such as whose names are household words in every Affghan home, and whose compositions are generally in the mouths of the Affghan population, many of them subjects of the British Government; and that, too, notwithstanding that it is in Peshawar, the

capital of one of the Affghan provinces of British India, and under our own special patronage, that the work of publishing and perpetuating these interesting works amongst the native population is now carried on.

Such apathy as regards the acquisition of the language itself is all the more strange, because the rewards offered by Government for a proficiency in the standard of attainment required are by no means illiberal, if only the pecuniary inducement be regarded; but as regards the study of its literature there is something to be said in extenuation of this apparent neglect. It must be remembered that the Affghan can hardly be called a written language to any appreciable extent; as in the case of Scotland, to which country its characteristics of population and national traits afford a remarkable analogy, its sole literature, almost, may be said to be such as has taken a poetic form, more or less of the character of ballads. These poems, moreover, have been mostly handed down by oral tradition, and in but few cases committed to writing; even where the latter has been the case—as would be natural amongst a rough and uneducated people, who despised such, as they considered them, effeminate accomplishments as reading and writing—but little attention has been paid by the various transcribers to an uniform system of spelling or of grammatical construction, the equivalents of words recited having been probably as often as not committed to writing on phonetic rather than on any other principles. It is, moreover, only comparatively lately—since the introduction of the printing-press into Peshawar—that a demand for printed copies of these poems has arisen. This demand has of course been almost exclusively confined to the natives of the country, and the nature and quality of the article supplied has been such as would meet with their expectation and requirements; but to any European, except such as have made the reading of vernacular literature their special duty, it must have been often a matter of experience how discouraging to the ordinary reader is the spectacle presented on opening a book of this

character in the ordinary type ; the villainous quality of both paper and type, the running of one word into another, the placing of one portion of the word upon a line, and the remainder in the interval above it, as is the confusing custom in many of the productions of the vernacular press : all these distractions are so calculated to damp the student's ardour and chill his enthusiasm that, in spite of his anxiety to penetrate its contents and make himself acquainted with the matters of interest which it may contain, the perseverance in his object involves a hard struggle ; the more so that, as is the case with most Anglo-Indians, his object in this study is only the profitable employment of the leisure hours which he is able to snatch from the more serious business of life upon which his maintenance depends.

That this neglect has been redeemed by brilliant exceptions, in the case of those capable of an appreciation of the interest attaching to the study of these works, and the beauties to be found in them, has been shown by the valuable works of Major Raverty, Dr. Bellew, Mr. Hughes and others. The former may indeed be termed the father of the study of the Affghan language and literature, for more than thirty years ago he devoted himself to the work of placing at the disposal of the public the unique stores of information which he had then acquired upon the subject ; and it is mainly to the facilities which he was thus able to afford, by the years of study which he had devoted to this purpose, that his successors in the task and the ordinary student of the present time is indebted for any proficiency which he may attain in his pursuit. "Raverty's Grammar," "Raverty's Dictionary," "Raverty's Gulshan-i-Roh," or "Selections of the most interesting, characteristic, and beautiful extracts from Pushtoo Literature," will ever be lasting memorials of the conscientious and disinterested labour which this pioneer of the study of the Affghan language and literature bestowed upon a subject, the importance and interest of which was even less adequately appreciated at the time that he wrote than in present times.

The literature to which I have been referring more particularly in the foregoing remarks, is that of certain Affghan poets, especially those of the seventeenth century. It is not, indeed, long since a learned professor, writing from Peshawar to the *Contemporary Review*, sweepingly designated these as in no way characteristic of the national life or character, but as merely inferior imitations of Persian prototypes; but limited as is my acquaintance with this subject, I trust I may, at any rate, be able to prove that these works are not so absolutely devoid of character or interest as he depicts them, if not actually to demonstrate, as is my object, how much has been lost on the part of those whose studies in the Affghan language have not been pursued to such a degree of proficiency as would place at their command the abundant field of interest and enjoyment which the productions of these authors present.

To understand, however, the spirit and character of these works, it would be necessary to review briefly the special characteristics of the people amongst which their authors took their origin, and the scenes and condition of society amongst which they were born and brought up.

As has been before remarked, the country of Affghanistan affords, in its social aspects—and in this respect it may be taken for granted that there has been but very little variation during the last two or three centuries—a remarkable analogy to that of Scotland, particularly as regards its political condition and the national traits of its inhabitants; that is, if regard be had to the Scotland of the Middle Ages. As in Scotland the Highland portion of the population is found divided into various clans, distinguished by patronymics denoting the ancestors from which they respectively claim their origin; each of which, in former ages—under the feudal authority of its own tribal chief, whose personal influence was the only rule that its members recognised for their guidance—led an individual and semi-independent political existence, neither recognising nor deferring to any claims on the part of other clans of a collateral origin, or

indeed of any supreme power, except in so far as the head of the clan found it expedient or necessary ; so in the same way, each Affghan tribe constitutes a semi-independent political unit, bound to its individual chief by strictly feudal ties, and recognising no authority beyond him except under compulsion by superior force.

The tribes, however, of Affghan origin by no means form the exclusive population of these regions, for intermingled amongst them is found a considerable sprinkling of tribes of Persian and Moghal descent, introduced into the country in the train of various Persian and Moghal invaders, their relations with whom are, as it may be imagined, none of the most cordial ; for the latter are evidently a comparatively recent access to the population, and the tribes of Affghan origin—who are the oldest inhabitants of the country of whom we have any record—could thus hardly be expected to look on them with other than the bitterest feelings as intruders and interlopers. There is strong reason to believe that the Affghans themselves are a tribe of Western origin, who have taken refuge in the regions in which they are now found from the successful invasions of their own homes ; but their origin is lost in obscurity, and it is difficult even to make a suggestion as to the immediate cause of their immigration into these regions. Curiously enough they themselves claim to be of Jewish origin, and there is no doubt that this strange traditionary belief in their descent is firmly implanted in their breasts. It is no weaker now than it was more than two centuries ago, the poetry of which period abounds in allusions to the same. Certain of the words, moreover, found in their language are by some supposed to be remotely connected with the Hebrew, and thus to give some shadow of reason to the advancement of this strange claim on their part. All, however, that is certain about them is that at present they constitute the majority of the inhabitants, and speak a variety of dialects of a common language. This similarity of language, however, appears to constitute locally no bond of union between the members of

these various tribes into which the population is divided, which each exists apart, with entirely distinct customs and interests, and on terms of mutual distrust and suspicion, if not of actually open hostility.

Following out, then, the analogy that has been suggested to the condition of Scotland in the Middle Ages, we must endeavour to imagine the Highland and Lowland sections of the population inextricably intermingled as regards their local position in adjacent counties, as it were, instead of inhabiting perfectly distinct tracts of country, though equally distinct from one another in all their social relations. The Affghan would thus sufficiently adequately represent the Highlanders, or the more ancient inhabitants of the country ; while the Lowlanders, or the mixed and alien races, composed of the relics of successive invading elements from the south, would be represented by the various races of a distinct extraction from the Affghans, which are found scattered amongst them, but the difference of whose origin is immediately proclaimed by their appearance, language, and manners.

As then in Scotland the Highland portion of the population, whilst living upon terms of perpetual and undying hostility with its Lowland neighbours, was itself divided into clans constituting different communities, which, though regarding one another with a jealous distrust, were bound, internally, by the closest ties ; so in the case of tribes of Affghan origin are their respective members equally jealous of their tribal rights and privileges, while, at the same time, living collectively upon terms of the bitterest hostility with the races of a different extraction residing in their midst. If this latter be the case now-a-days, after years and years of intercourse, or, at any rate, of contact, how much more must it have been so two centuries ago, when the Moghals were supreme in Hindustan and the dominant race in Affghanistan itself ; and that in spite of the most determined and obstinate resistance on the part of its Affghan inhabitants. Of the bitterness of the feelings toward them on the part of the latter, there is abundant evidence in their poetry of that period,

which abounds with descriptions of sanguinary conflicts between the rival races and blood-thirsty pæans over hecatombs of slaughtered Moghals. Such portions of this poetry are full of peculiar interest to us, in the present state of our relations with the country, as denoting the terms upon which our predecessors in the sovereignty of Hindustan were with these savage and determined opposers to their rule, and the means which they eventually adopted to overcome this opposition, and introduce distrust and disunion among the confederate tribes. It must be remembered that at the time these poems were written, no such personage as the Amir of Cabul existed, neither had Cabul itself ever been the seat of a national or other dynasty. Up till then, and, indeed, for many years subsequently, it never formed more than the headquarters of the government of a local satrap, according as the province of which it was the chief town happened to constitute for the time being a dependency of some Central Asiatic dynasty or of the throne of Delhi.

Though, under the circumstances, this province nominally stretched as far as Ghazni on the south, and to the confines of the present district of Peshawar on the east, the actual rule of the Governor of Cabul does not appear to have extended beyond the Cabul Valley itself and those immediately accessible from it. In the same way the district of Peshawar was a remote dependency of the throne of Delhi, and its chief town the headquarters of another provincial governor, whose nominal sway extended over all the tribes scattered throughout the surrounding country. The degree of recognition, however, accorded to the rule of these respective governors by the tribes inhabiting the mountains extending from Jellalabad to the neighbourhood of Peshawar, such as the Afridis, Mohmunds, Shinwaris, Khataks, &c., &c., appears to have been of almost as vague and shadowy a description as that until recently accorded by these same tribes to the Amir of Cabul. The Moghal Emperors appear to have tried every expedient that could possibly occur to them, whether through the medium of force or diplomacy,

to reduce them to a position of subordination to their rule, but equally without success. They remained a set of incorrigible and uncompromising robbers and banditti, only to be won over to an inoffensive attitude by a lavish expenditure of gold, whenever their neutrality or good services were required. Many years later the strength and independence of their position was demonstrated by the fact that Nadir Shah, the great conqueror, on his return from Hindustan, was compelled to submit to pay a heavy black mail to these predatory tribes, to secure a safe passage through the Khyber Pass for the treasures which he brought with him.

The Poems of one of the Authors of whom I am speaking date from the middle to the end of the seventeenth century, and so extend through the period during which the Emperor Aurangzeb, reversing the tolerant and temporising policy initiated by his predecessor Akbar, and carried by his immediate successors Jehangir and Shahjehan, which had done so much to extend and solidify the Moghal supremacy throughout the continent of Hindustan, was endeavouring, by a resort to violent and oppressive measures, to reduce the heterogeneous races comprised within his Empire over many of whom he held little but a nominal sway, to a condition of abject subjugation to his rule,—an enterprise in which, after years of warfare, he not only failed himself most signally, but by his failure and the feelings of dissatisfaction and opposition which he aroused, laid the seeds of the subsequent downfall of his dynasty.

Against no people did he make more strenuous and futile efforts than against the Affghan tribes inhabiting the regions adjoining the N.W. Frontier of the Punjab.

The importance of keeping open a free current of communication between Hindustan and Central Asia had always been recognised by every Moghal Emperor of Delhi, as being the only means by which reinforcements of their countrymen could be obtained; and it was to the failure of this supply of fresh and renovating national material, owing to the closing of this means of access, that the

gradually increasing weakness of the Moghal rule was subsequently due. But whereas previous Emperors had been content to secure the freedom of this means of communication with the homes of their race, from the wild and war-like tribes in whose hands the route by Cabul lay, by a mixture of force and cajolery, and to purchase the immunity they required at the cheap expense of an occasional expedition against an individual offender, and a few bribes and honorary titles bestowed upon such as submitted to their wishes, without, however, for a moment dreaming of any attempt upon the freedom of the mass: it was one of Aurangzeb's ambitious schemes to reduce the entire inhabitants of these regions to a position of absolute submission to his rule. In this enterprise, however, he failed as signally as he did in his later undertakings against the Mahrattas. For two years were his armies encamped amongst these mountain fastnesses, and countless were the lives lost and treasures expended in the guerilla warfare with the fierce and hardy Affghan which ensued, the leader amongst whom was the famous chief-warrior and poet, Khush-hal Khan Khatak: of whom Elphinstone in his *History of India* appropriately remarks: "This war derives additional interest from the picture of it preserved by one of the principal actors, Khush-hal Khan, the Khan of the Khataks, who was a voluminous author, and has left several poems written at this time for the purpose of exciting the national enthusiasm of his countrymen. They are remarkable for their high and ardent tone, and for their spirit of patriotism and independence, so unlike the usual character of Asiatics." It is from some of these, amongst others, that I propose to give quotations, which, feeble as will be any translation I can give, when compared with the fire and spirit, and vigour of the originals, may yet be of some interest, if only on account of the matter which they contain.

Affghanistan has always been a country abounding in rude poets, and amongst a people absolutely devoid of any other form of literature, the poetic has, as amongst most

wild and independent mountain tribes, been ever the favourite mode of recording any forcible impression, whether of a patriotic, sentimental, or moralising description, which may have occurred to the composer. Down to the present time there is no form of enjoyment more appreciated by even the most savage and barbarous of the tribes inhabiting these regions than that afforded by the recitation of their favourite ballads, or indeed of any such as relate in a sufficiently impressive manner any forcible incident of national or individual interest. Several of the most famous of their chiefs,—amongst others Ahmad Shah Abdali himself,—have contributed to the lists of these poems; but amongst all these productions of local talent, those of the chief and warrior, Khush-hal Khan, and the philosopher and moralist, Abdurrahman, who both lived in the seventeenth century have ever held the foremost claims upon the affection of their countrymen; so much so that many of the most ignorant among them have, in the course of listening to repeated recitations of them by professional bards, acquired an acquaintance by rote with the most popular of these poems, and there is no surer or readier mode of appealing to their sympathies or enlisting their confidence than by the quotation of a few stanzas from the one or the other poet.

This is but natural, for these poems breathe of the subjects in which every Affghan delights; they remind him of days of former prowess, and they talk of love and rapine, which are the themes which must ever appeal most readily to the untutored instincts of a gallant though wild and independent people. As they tell of raid and foray and contest between clan and clan, his eyes flash and his nostrils quiver with the innate feelings of animosity and the passion which they arouse; as they tell of the softer emotions of love and sentiment, his breast heaves with gentle sighs, for, in spite of rugged and brutal bearing, there is no people in which exists a deeper fund of latent tenderness and gallantry; again, little as he may probably care to carry

into practice the moral teaching of the didactic portions, he can fully appreciate the lofty sentiments they contain, and in this he is not singular amongst mankind. The poems, as would be expected, bear throughout the impress of the natural influences by which the composers were surrounded. Affghanistan is a country where nature ever exhibits herself in the most conflicting aspects; it is a country of lofty mountains and deep ravines, of arid plains and fertile valleys, of bitter cold and scorching heat; for the seasons too share of the extremes visible in the physical characteristics of the country. In winter biting frost and heavy snow, in summer scorching winds and fiery sunshine; the only period of the year on which the Affghan poet delights to dwell is that intervening between the freezing blasts of winter and the burning heats of the hot season, while the general barrenness and sterility of his native land is amply brought home by his repeated recurrence to the simile—as typical of every thing charming and delightful which he invariably makes use of, when he wishes to bring in a comparison which shall touch the heart of his reader—of a garden: to walk in which on a hot summer day is the supremest of his delights. And yet what is the picture recalled to a European by the mention of an oriental garden? Not those lovely pictures in grottoes and turf and water and foliage which are the productions of the art of the European landscape gardener; but a rectangular piece of level enclosed by a high mud-wall ground, dissected by paths at right-angles to one another, and bordered by mango trees, with occasional plots of pomegranates, plaintains and rose-bushes. To the Affghan, however, accustomed to the blinding glare and the grey monotony which is the general character of the landscape which meets his eyes on every side in the hot season, the mere presence of water and grass and foliage is a sufficient attraction to make the scene presented within the walls of these gardens a delightful contrast to the outside world.

What wonder then that, born and bred amongst these

scenes of sterility and savage grandeur, the Affghan should breathe the instincts with which his constant intercourse with them would inspire his nature! In the deadly struggle for existence which the barrenness of his native land involves, the strong hand has ever been the only law recognised, or to which an appeal could be made, and "Thou shalt want ere I do" has been as much the motto of every tribe amongst them, as it ever was of the border clans in Scotland, in the good old days of yore. But deeply as, in the case of the Affghan, the fiercer instincts of human nature seem affected by the scenes which nature presents to him, these are accompanied by a simple and poetical appreciation of the more beautiful and softer features of the landscape, and a healthy manliness of tone in his expression of the sentimental emotions, which affords a refreshing contrast to the maudlin or voluptuous treatment which such subjects meet with at the hands of most Oriental writers. It is this manliness, inherent in his nature, which must on one point always appeal to the chivalrous feelings instinctive in every European, and make the latter feel disposed to deal kindly with his other failings, objectionable and contemptible as they may appear in our eyes; and that is his treatment of the weaker sex, so different from the habits and customs of most other Oriental nations with which we have been brought in contact. To Englishmen, of all nations, must this redeeming trait ever appeal with the greatest force in his favour, for from what other Asiatic people of whom we have had experience, could we have hoped for the treatment which our fellow-countrywomen met with at the hands of the savage and vindictive Affghans, when they fell into their hands as prisoners at the time of the disastrous evacuation of Cabul in 1842? and that too at a time when their passions were at their fiercest pitch, and they were flushed with victory and success. But savage and brutal as is the Affghan in many ways, he is a thorough type of manhood in this respect, and wars not upon women. From his infancy he

has been brought up to look upon and treat the female members of his family with too much respect, and to be too jealous of their honour, to be capable of ill-treating them or forgetting, however helpless their position, their claims upon his consideration. Far different were the experiences of such of our country-women, as some years later fell into the hands of our own sepoys and others, our only mistake in dealing with whom had been that we had treated them with too much confidence and generosity.

Startling contrasts are however as much the characteristic of the nature of the Affghan as they are those of his country and its climate; he is capable of the most unexpected outbursts of generosity and sentiment, as of the most cold-blooded and calculating acts of treachery and sordid greed and duplicity, of the deepest self-devotion to those to whom he is attached, or whom he considers to have a claim upon him—in comparison to which life or (what is dearer to him perhaps, even than that) money presents no value in his eyes—as of the most inplacable resentment towards those at whose hands he imagines himself to have received any injury. It is with the expression of such manly sentiments as were exemplified on the occasion to which I have above referred, that the Affghan's love songs are replete, and now for the authors themselves and a few extracts from their poems.

Khush hal Khan, the most famous and interesting of the authors under consideration, was, as has been before remarked, the chief of the Khataks, a powerful and warlike tribe inhabiting the neighbourhood of the Khaiber Pass. He was born in the early part of the seventeenth century, and died in a ripe old age towards its close. He was thus the contemporary of Charles the First and Charles the Second amongst our sovereigns, and lived through a portion of the reign of the Emperor Jehangir, the whole of that of Shahjehan, and the greater part of that of Aurangzeb, amongst the Moghal emperors of Delhi. It was during the reign of the Emperor Shahjehan, that he arrived at the age

of manhood, and his abilities and influence appear to have been fully recognised by this sovereign, who, with the diplomacy which was then the policy of the Moghal emperors, supported him in every way, and entrusted him with various responsible duties connected with the protection of the line of communication between Hindustan and Cabul. Wherever this emperor's name is mentioned in his poems, he is spoken of by Khush hal Khan throughout in terms of the greatest esteem and respect, very different in their tone from those in which he refers to his successor Aurangzeb, who, as has been described, reversed the temporising policy which had been that of his predecessors, in their relations with these mountain tribes, and made a bitter enemy of Khush hal Khan, by treacherously imprisoning him in Hindustan for many years, in consequence of some supposed contempt of his authority. He escaped, however, from this imprisonment to his native country, where, as may be imagined, he became the rallying point of the opposition offered by his fellow countrymen to the attempted aggressions of the Moghals. As is known from history, this opposition on the part of the Affghan tribes was of so determined a character that, though the emperor Aurangzeb himself took command of the forces, he was unable to accomplish his object and was obliged, after several years of a disastrous and desultory warfare, carried on at the expense of many lives and much treasure, to withdraw his troops to Hindustan.

Later on he succeeded in effecting by cajolery a great part of that which he had failed to do by force, and by a liberal expenditure in the way of bribes and douceurs to the leaders of the other tribes, succeeded in detaching these from their confederation with the Khataks,—a subject to which many are the bitter and contemptuous allusions made by Khush hal Khan, who appears never to have abated from the hostility of his demeanour towards the Moghals, till worn out and broken-spirited, betrayed into the hands of his enemies by his own son, he seems in his old age to have

felt at times the hopelessness of contending against such influences, or of inducing the other tribes in the face of it to combine with him in the defence of the national independence. His feelings towards Aurangzeb, however, never changed and he never alludes to him except in terms of the bitterest hatred and contempt, and never loses an opportunity of covering him with derision and obloquy. The poems of Khush hal Khan are of the most heterogeneous description as regards the subjects of which they treat; they deal with those of a patriotic nature, contests with the Moghals and tribal feuds, sports of various descriptions (especially that of hawking, which appears to have been the favorite amusement of this accomplished and versatile chief), conviviality, religion, morality and sentiment. He appears to have been indeed a man of the most extraordinary vigour of mind and exceptional versatility of talent. There is no subject which could ordinarily occur to a human being not a specialist, which he does not discuss; such a development of intellect, and power of observation and appreciation of the gravity and profoundness of the problems affecting human life, as are exhibited in his works are all the more astonishing to us when we consider his career, the age he lived in, and the almost utter state of barbarism of the social surroundings amongst which he spent the best part of his life. It is true that the greater portion of his poems appear to have been written after he had passed the prime of his manhood, and subsequently to the period of his imprisonment in India by Aurangzeb, to which frequent references are made—though some of them were evidently written during the time of this confinement, for they contain the most pathetic lamentations over the restraint he was subjected to, and expressions of homesickness and pinings after the free life and the mountains and streams of his native country.

It is probable that it was in the course of this confinement, and in that of his previous intercourse with the emperor Shahjehan, with whom he appears to have been on

the most friendly and confidential terms, that he acquired and developed the taste for refined and literary pursuits and philosophical enquiries and reflections which was then the characteristic of the Moghal Court : to which all the Oriental literati of the time had, since the days of the emperor Akbar, been encouraged to resort. There is no question that he was a man of exceptional talents and energy both of mind and body, nor that had his lot been placed in a wider field and in a more civilized sphere, he would have risen to a position of considerable celebrity. As it was being only the chief of a comparatively insignificant mountain tribe of Affghanistan, his existence depended throughout on the most precarious circumstances, and he died in an obscure old age unnoticed and unconsidered by his fellow countrymen and contemporaries. His poems are characteristic of the national character and the circumstances of his life ; they contain the most extraordinary mixture of warlike, not to say bloodthirsty sentiments, and those of a philosophical, religious, or sentimental nature ; in the same poems almost one may find the simple and most charming expressions of his appreciations of the beauties of nature, and the benefits of the Creator, the most sanguinary rejoicings over the discomfiture of his foes, even when these are of his own country-men, and reflections of a moralising description, which show the amount of thought he had bestowed upon such subjects.

Such of these poems as relate to patriotic subjects, tribal encounters, the struggles between the Afghans and Moghals, are those the recitation of which is most popular amongst his fellow-countrymen of the present day, as they are those of more special interest to ourselves. They are collectively far too numerous for quotation in the present article, but it is hoped that the samples produced may be indicative of the interest attaching to the remainder. It should be noted that, though in speaking of this section of the population of Affghanistân, I have done so under the modern and conventional designation of Affghans, this term is rarely used

in these works, in which Khush-hal-Khan almost invariably refers to his fellow-countrymen of the various tribes under their common national designation in the East as Pathans. The term Affghan is, however, used about half-a-dozen times, but then only as evidently synonymous with Pathan.

It is curious to note in the following, *apropos* of our present relations with Affghanistan, that only two hundred years ago—at a time when the name of England was almost unknown even in India—the names of France and Portugal were of such repute as to have been household words even to this wild Affghan chief:—

“Not alone am I ; for while he lives,
Many are those whom Aurangzeb will ruin.
He, like Nebukadnezzar, has determined on oppression ;
I, like Daniel, am a captive in his hands.
Right or wrong, whoever falls into his claws
He mangles him, till no care has he for freedom ;
His own father even found from him no mercy ;
What regard then will he have for other men ?
In truth, I say, no monarch he at all :
All his works are those of thieves and bandits.
During his reign, happy indeed are those
Whose homes are now in *France* or *Portugal*.
Whatever he does, though, never will a Pathan be a Mogal ;
Let him put from forth his heart the thought of this :
What thought of friendship ’twixt the tiger and the elephant ?
For the Pathan enough his rug and blanket ;
Why then wear the coat of service of the Moghal ? ”

The following is an expression of Khush-hal’s hatred of Aurangzeb, and feelings of delight at his escape from the restraints and burdens of his confinement in India :—

“Though nourished by the favour of the Moghals,
Filled is my heart with rage at Aurang’s treatment.
Unjustly he imprisoned me for many years ;
God knows the fault, for naught of it know I.
No good-will have the Moghals to the Pathans
Well informed am I of all that they design.
Was I a falcon or an eagle in Shahjehan’s eyes ;
And yet to Aurangzeb but a crow or sparrow-hawk ?
Fire take their titles and their service !
Am I in the Moghal’s eyes but as chaff ?

Maddened am I with the thought of my dishonour ;
 Rather than this that all my fortune had been lost.
 Like the falcon is my eye on noble quarry ;
 No sparrow I that feeds on worms and grubs.
 A tiger I, whose feast is on his victims ;
 No bullock I to graze amongst the fields.
 Of all Pathans who take the Moghal's service,
 More experienced am I than others ere can be.
 In the service of the Moghal was I a simple Malik ;
 *Now freed from it a Malak have I become.
 What care I now for his orders or permission ?
 Praise be to God that my will is now my own !
 What care I now for Court or yet for Council ?
 No more my watch at haughty noble's gate,
 No witnessing, no writing, no accounts now mine !
 No care is mine for bonds or for decrees !
 Every fool who made me bow my head,
 His head have I bowed low with sword and stave.
 Enough to a Pathan his rug and blanket ;
 No care have I for couches or for cushions.
 Freedom is mine, though plain and coarse my dress ;
 Escaped have I from velvet and from brocade ;
 A grass-built hut is now so dear to me ;
 Sounder my rest there than in palaces of stone.

&c., &c., &c., &c., &c.

This refers to some combined attack of the tribes of the Khyber upon a convoy of the Moghals traversing the Pass :—

" It is not by greatness or smallness of numbers, but by God's ruling,
 Oft-times a small force a mighty army breaks.
 What were the Mohmunds, the Shinwaris, the Afridis
 That they should defeat the forces of a Province ?
 Such a storm as then burst on the Moghals !
 Of their slaughter and their plunder what account ?
 What of their horses, elephants, and goods ?
 Pile upon pile was there of gold and silver coin.
 Those fair creatures, too, who travelled in their Palkis,
 Decked their clothes with rubies, pearls, and jewels :
 By thousands the Pathans took them to themselves.
 How can this deed ever from the Moghal's memory pass ?
 The vengeance for this never will he defer,
 Until beneath his hand the Pathan nation lies.

* In this stanza there is a play upon the words "Malik," which means a chief, or the head of a community, and "Malak," which in Arabic means an angel.

Have the Pathans but any thought or reason,
Subject or rebel, now let him well be on his guard."

Account of fights between the Pathans and the
Moghals:—

"Whence has spring-tide returned,
Which on all sides has spread as a garden?
See the clematis, the honeysuckle, the lily, the hyacinth,
The jasmine, narcissus, wild rose, and wild cherry.
Many are spring's flowers; of all kinds are they;
But conspicuous amongst all the wild tulip.
The maidens place bouquets of flowers in their bosoms;
With bunches of flowers are the youths' turbans dressed.
Come, minstrel! draw the bow across the violin,
With chords and harmonies bring sounds from every string.
Come, cup-bearers! bring tankards brimming over,
That with the joy of wine we may be filled.
The Pathan youths again have dyed their hands,
As dyes his claws the hawk in the blood of his prey;
Blushing now are their pale swords with rosy blood.
In summer how strange a tulip bed has blossomed!
Khyber's Pass have they reddened with the blood of the foe
In Garya is the roar of their musketry still resounding
From Garya to Bajore straight the mountains
Have been seized with quakes and trembling time after time.
Five years now are past that has been heard in these regions
Of bright swords the clashing day after day.
The first fight was that on the lofty ridge of Tahtar,
When scattered to the winds were forty thousand Moghal foe."

"Now is it a year that Aurangzeb is camped against us;
Haggard in his features and wounded in his heart.
Year after year it is that falls his nobles.
Of his armies destroyed what account is there?
The treasures of Hindustan have been scattered before us,
Swallowed by the mountains has been his ruddy gold.
More skilled in the sword are the Pathans than the Moghals
Would only more intelligence was theirs!
Were the tribes but of agreement amongst themselves,
Emperors would prefer to bow before them;
I alone amongst them regard my people's honour
At ease are the Yusufzais ploughing their fields;
The Afridis, the Mohmunds, the Shinwaris, where are they?
Spread is the Moghal in Naugrahar."

The account of a tribal fight, apparently upon the subject of some disputed boundary :—

“Until his vengeance he hath wrought upon his foe,
 Neither sleep nor food nor peace knows a true man.
 Who has no concern for the honour of his name,
 Little respect will be paid to such an one.
 Who by birth from his ancestors wields the sword
 Well befits him the trade of the unbending glaive.
 My grief at Gunbat came from forth my heart,
 When at Doda God granted my desire of victory.
 Abad Khan is one to whose face victory hastens ;
 In every place his father's name has he renewed.
 The work of armies is no such easy task
 That by every man it can be ordered well.
 The tiger's share is the neck of the wild bull ;
 The jackal, fox are feasted on his scraps.
 The deer of the plain a single greyhound kills ;
 The yelping cur the village haunts in quest of food.
 The fort of Doda was no such an easy task
 That the thought of its conquest entered people's heads.
 Right on the top of a mountain was it firmly planted ;
 Stronger than those of Kohat were its walls.
 By God's order such a victory was his,
 That accomplished in two days was his object.
 The taking of seven forts was, by God's order,
 One after another, completed in a week.
 From terror on the heavens trembling fell
 When of Bahram's sword the clashing was heard.
 From the smoke of the slain by the Jezails
 An Eighth Heaven there appeared, grey in hue.
 The spears of the Khataks thus pierced the chain armour,
 As runs the tailor's needle through the tent-cloth.
 The lance-armed horsemen of the Khataks
 Overthrew the Bangash riders root and branch.
 Many youths were twined in wrestling in this fight,
 No sparing there of swords, nor yet of arrows.
 Of Gunbut then the grief went from my heart,
 Were it of defeat, wounds or reproaches.
 Stinking was the earth with the corpses of the slain,
 Which were cut to pieces in Doda by the sword.
 The lot of the Bangash are the peaks of Pali ;
 Now let them put their swords within their sheaths.
 He who leaves his own trade for that of another,
 Than him no other fool can greater be.
 What though the stag is fierce in battle, he forgets to fight
 When from the lion his head a blow receives.
 Had the Bangash had any honour never would I have cut
 Out of their full gardens a single almond tree.

Of the perfidy of the Bangash this the punishment,
That on their corpses now are feasting the wild beasts,
In that fight countless plunder became ours
Of lovely maidens, fine horses, valuable treasures,
With their black armour, bows and sheaths of arrows—
Every man of us was fitted well with arms.
The rumour of this fight will spread through all the land,
In its glory will all the Pathans delight.
When of this fight the report reaches Hindustan
Loud will be the Emperor's plaint to high and low;
For with the disgrace of Pathan honour is his delight:
Such a king of Islam is Aurangzeb."

There is something peculiarly Pathan in the ferocity of the expression of the above account, which is moreover only that of a simple quarrel with a kindred clan.

PATRIOTIC SONG.

"Come and listen to my story;
Good and bad is told in it;
Warning will you find, and counsel—
Let the wise take note of this.
I am Khush-hal, son of Shah-baz,
A warrior-I by birth and trade.
Shahbaz Khan was Yahya Khan's son;
Few so active and so brave.
Akoray's son was Yahya Khan,
Master of the sword was he;
Yet skilled as he was with the sword,
In archery excelled he more;
Once his eye was on his foe,
Soon his place was in the grave.
In the Emperor Akbar's reign,
He became chief of his clan.
Those who sat with him at table,
All alike were fierce and bold;
Stained with blood, the grave received them,
All his officers and chiefs.
Numerous family was his;
All brave hardy warriors they;
Of one mind in all their actions,
Jealous each of fame and name.
The thousand and twenty-second year of Hijra
It was that to this world I came.
Fifty years had he completed,
That was martyred—Shah-baz Khan
(The Emperor of his time was he)—

That discerning Shahjehan
 To me he gave my father's place,
 Of my tribe made me the chief.
 Were it war or gifts they wanted,
 Lacking found they naught in me.
 Thirty thousand Khataks mine,
 Each one on my word intent ;
 Every Khatak in my chiefship
 Famous was throughout the world.
 From the Emperor Aurangzeb
 Full vengeance took I for his bonds ;
 The swords impress I printed clear
 Alike on Hind and Mussalman
 The Emperor's bitter foe am I,
 Whether my way through hill or plain ;
 The Pathan's honour dear to me,
 Though these have joined to the Moghal.
 Like the dogs they stray about,
 Searching for the Moghal's scraps.
 Why should I though boast myself?
 Hence let others tell the tale."

"Shahjehan appreciated well my actions.
 The policy of Aurangzeb is shewn by his state ;
 For the loyal and disloyal to him are both alike ;
 No moderation his, nor tact, nor justice,
 Since the date that his sovereignty commenced.
 Throughout his reign on every side trouble has been ;
 In his reign the whole world has been thrown into confusion ;
 Thou wouldst say that it is Anti-Christ had appeared,
 Since he spared not even his own father.
 What limit to his tyranny over others?
 No discrimination his for men of rank and worth.
 For this reason in plain and mountain I defy him.
 It is all the first-fruits of my sword,
 That the Pathans now live in their feudal lands ;
 Truly the wealth of Hindustan were theirs,
 Had they but more enterprise and sense.
 Were but a thousand warriors now of one accord with me,
 Again would the plains of the Punjaub know my raids.
 But however much I try to organize them, no order is theirs ;
 Like a wall of broken stones are the Pathans.
 Passed is now my age beyond seventy years ;
 But the same my heart, though broke by years my body.
 How would I now have wielded my sword against the Moghals ?
 Alas ! Alas ! that in my youth were not these times."

There are, of course, numerous other productions of the same kind, one of particular interest, in the metre called "Tarjia-band," which relates at great length the mode and circumstances of his arrest by Aurangzeb, subsequent confinement, and mentions in detail many names of famous men of the time and places of well-known modern interest.* It is too lengthy, however, for insertion, and extracts would be incomplete.

His observations on, and criticisms of, his fellow-countrymen are such as, though many of them far from complimentary in their character in many respects, cannot but commend themselves to our notice from their outspokenness and the truth which they contain, as we have had ample opportunity of experiencing, for they prove the Affghans (or Pathans, as is more correctly their national designation) of two centuries ago to have been the same in every point of national character as those of to-day with whom we have to deal, and their relations with the dominant power in India—that of the Moghals—almost precisely identical with those in which they stand to us.

"Devoid are the Pathans of reason and understanding ;
As the dogs in the courtyards of the butchers are they.
They sold their sovereignty to the Moghals for gold ;
For the titles of the Moghals is all their desire.
*The camel with its rich loads has come amidst their mountain ;
Yet the only plunder they seek is the bells from off its neck.
When I look at the Moghals, not as before are they ;
Past is the day of their fighting ; now they cleave to the pen.
With gold and fair promises have they beguiled the Pathans ;
Yet such is the mercy of God that from me they have naught yet attained.
No fly am I, or vulture, that over carrion should be my hover ;
As a falcon or eagle am I ; in its own prey my heart rejoices.

* This is a very expressive simile : the camel with its rich loads is the Moghal troops with their arms and treasures. The Pathans are represented as satisfying themselves, in their folly and fatuity, with empty titles of distinction, instead of practical gain by plunder ; which is as though a bandit were to be contented with robbing the brass bells suspended to the camel's neck, instead of the rich booty on its back.

The following is particularly true in its remarks :—

“It may be that midst other nations true men are found,
But few and far between amongst **Affghans* are they.
What good is it to say words of advice to one?
Even to his father's counsel will he scarcely listen.
Every deed of the Pathans is better than that of the Moghals.
Concord is what they lack, the pity of it!
From Bahlul and Sher Shah's words I hear
That formerly the Pathans were kings of Hind.
For six or seven generations was their empire such
That all the world was confounded at them.
Either these Pathans were different, or something else has happened;
Or else it is the will of God that things should be as they are.
If only the Pathans could find the gift of concord,
Old Khush-hal would again a youth become.”

The following are amusingly depictive of the national character :—

“Quarrelsome are all Pathans;
From house to house they fighting go.
If one but lift his head a bit,
Another quickly lays it low.
Thou of the Moghal's eye to-day,
O! Khush-hal, art the piercing thorn.”

“A Khatak, when he mounts on horse,
Binds his shield upon his back,
Lets loose the end of his turban
Over his forehead broad and long:
Looks at the shadow of this end,
As his horse goes prancing on;

* This is remarkable as being one of the very rare occasions on which the term *Affghan* is used at all. It is evidently not applied here in any sense which would in the least lead us to imagine, as some persons have endeavoured to prove, that it was the special designation of any particular tribes of the Pathans; but it is most plainly made use of as synonymous with that of *Pathan*: as is also the case with the following occasion on which it is made use of again :—

“Unjustly did Aurangzeb throw me into prison;
God knows from what lie or calumny.
I know of no fault, I swear by God;
But who knows what tales others tell?
As I was in honesty and good intentions,
No *Affghan* was there in the service of the Moghal.”

Hopes to be a chieftain bold,
Seeking ever for the fray.
Quarrelsomeness an evil is ;
It ruins a man's future.
No good brings it to any one else,
But spoils its owner's nature."

The following is of interest, as referring to the curious tradition so current amongst the Affghans of their descent from the children of Israel:—

"Though the maids of Cashmere are famous for their beauty,
And those of China and Machin and Tartary ;
Yet the Pathan maidens, whom with my own eyes I have gazed on,
They would put all such to shame.
On score of beauty, this is the sum of all their praises :
That of Jacob's lineage and descent are they.
What need of necklaces, or jewels, or other ornaments ?
All such, beside their tresses, are contemptible.
What need of brocaded veils and robes of scarlet muslin ?
Not to be compared are they to their white snoods.
The beauty of their nature exceeds that of their appearance ;
Sweeter far their secret charms than their external.
All their time is spent in privacy and seclusion ;
Nor seen are they in public with their persons half exposed.
From modesty they can scarce raise up their eyes ;
No experience theirs of hard words and blows."

The last stanza is emphatically characteristic of the distinction between the Affghan's treatment of his women-kind, as compared with that of the natives of Hindustan. Had Khush-hal Khan lived in the present times, instead of two hundred years ago, and ever had an opportunity of being present in a European ball-room, we might have imagined the seventeenth stanza to be a sly hit at our customs. But of course he never had an opportunity of seeing a European woman in or out of a ball-room, and his allusion is only to the costume of the Hindoo women, which in many places is somewhat scanty.

• Portions of the sentimental poetry are of that type so peculiar to Mohammedan poetry, in which the expression of the sentiments of human love and passion are so inextricably mingled with those of devotion to the Deity that, in many

cases, it is almost impossible to distinguish the one from the other, or separate the outpourings of the love-sick poet from the mystic expressions of the yearnings of the devout mind for absorption in or union with the Divine Being.

The special distinction of the Affghan poetry in this respect, as contrasted with the current poetry of the East, is that—intermingled as are the expressions of these sentiments in the poems of this description—there is nothing about them that need shock the ear of the refined lover, or offend the sense of propriety of the devout reader, as is too frequently the case with the gross and material allusions and similes commonly indulged in by most Oriental poets. If the sonnets are read as simple love-songs, they are full of beautiful and picturesque comparisons, such as would naturally occur to the rustic poet pouring forth his feelings of sentiment towards his mistress amidst the recesses of his native mountains. If they be regarded as the cravings of the devout soul for a closer union with its Creator, there is nothing in them that need prevent their perusal by a reverent mind.

The similes introduced in the love-songs are in many cases as wild and fanciful as the scenes which must have met the eyes of the composer. The lover is compared to the breeze which is fancifully supposed to be distractedly wandering in pursuit of the perfume of the rose; he is drawn towards his mistress as the sun in its midday heat draws up the dew,—again like the dew which, glittering in the rays of the sun, is fancifully compared to countless eyes, he is all eyes for the approach of his mistress; as the sun derives its light from some supernatural source, so the refulgence of her beauty is reflected upon him. The snow on the mountain-tops melts, upon the approach of spring, into sympathetic torrents of tears over the woes of separated lovers; the mountain-slopes, covered at the same time with the smoke of burning prairies, are typical of the sighs and lamentations of the same: again, the wounded heron, separated from and left behind by the flock in their flight,

lends itself, by its distress and the agitation which it exhibits, to the same purpose. His mistress is compared to a cypress, to a pine in her stateliness of form and graceful carriage, her face to a tulip in which the red and white are cunningly mingled ; her locks are like hyacinth, &c., &c., &c.

The appreciation of scenery and the beauties of nature which finds such a frequent expression in these poems is a sentiment with which we Europeans must sympathise most strongly, all the more that a capacity for such æsthetic enjoyment is not by any means widely spread amongst Asiatics.

The following was apparently composed during the period of Khush-hal's imprisonment in India :—

“Lo! the early Spring has come. I apart from my beloved one!
Alas! alas! alas! without my sweetheart goes the Spring-tide.
Weep the peaks and mountains o'er the lot of parted lovers!
No snow-born torrents those that now dash from rocky heights;
'Tis the fire of wounded hearts which now kindles mountain forests!
See the deep brown clouds of smoke which now rise from pine and fir.
Wouldst thou know the state of lovers whom a cruel fate has severed?
See the heron who from the flock bewildered wanders.
No such sad strains are heard as are those of separation.
Come and list with me to the strains of bard and minstrel.
No solace for my grief; far from that, each day adds to it.
Quickly come, my healer, lest I die, for heaven's sake.

“My grief is ended; now has come the time of gladness;
What time the flowers of Spring arrived my garden blossomed:
Quickly let us make ready to wander through it.
Go tell the nightingale that Spring has come;
Let the minstrel tune his strains to rejoice me.
It is his regrets and fears of Autumn
That to the roses now the parrot chatters.
Heavy the load of separation; God has lightened it;
For now I delight again that the joy of my eyes has come.
Others have indeed their times of feasts and of rejoicing;
For me my feast is then, what time appears my mistress.

“Saidst thou, ‘Grieve not, for I am thine and thou art mine.’
Me in truth hast thou waked to life, whether thou treat me fair or foul.
What a lovely torment! thou so peerless art, my sweet one,
Hadst thou not that one defect, that thy heart is hard as stone.
Were the world made up of beauties, on each side were lovely fair ones,
Still were it astounding such beauty should be seen as thine.
With so great slaughter art thou indeed not wearied?
What heeds the executioner if a thousand lives he takes?

When of thee I beg a rose, of thy garden of the border,
 If thou grant me but a weed, yet I prize it as a rose.
 So long as I thy slave live on, a captive of those locks am I,
 In a single hair of which a thousand hearts entangled lie.

"What though with tongue strives me my mistress,
 In her heart with many a kindness treats me my mistress.
 When she comes and throws her arms around my neck,
 Far from me all trouble dispels my mistress.
 No need to her of sword: a cold look is enough,
 If on my death resolved be my mistress.
 A beggar I, a monarch she, therefore it befits
 That to my devotion respect should pay my mistress.

"The sword that is sharpened for the blow, is it or not?
 The tresses that are curled for the lover, is it or not?
 Why sayest thou, 'Do not gaze upon the fair ones'?
 The eyes that are created to see, is it or not?
 Let the priest fast and pray, let the gallant grasp filled goblets;
 Every man that is created for his own part, is it or not?
 Saidst thou, 'My lips' kiss is a cure for every sorrow.'
 That draught of thee I beg for my heart's wound, is it or not?
 Compared to thy face, as weeds appear the brightest flowers.
 Such beside thy cheeks the rose and tulip, is it or not?
 Here is wine, the harp, and flute, with thy mistress, O Khush-hal!
 With a book in thy hand, thou hastest; to the garden is it or not?"

The following may be taken as fair specimens of the poems of a convivial or voluptuous nature; they are very different from those of the same character found in other Oriental writings, which are generally grossly suggestive or indecent:—

"O cup-bearer, give me wine,
 Several goblets in succession;
 Hard it is if you consider
 That wineless the Spring should pass.
 Where with flowers is found a comrade
 What restraint should bind a man?
 Hear their teachings, listen to them,
 Hear what say the harp and pipe.
 Comes not back the passing moment!
 Ah! how sad! alas! alas!
 Good indeed is this world's life;
 Would that it might last for aye!
 Since for aye it lasteth not,
 Then count it worthless and despised."

Some of the poems, written during the period of Khush-

hal-Khan's imprisonment in India, are, as has been said, most pathetic in their nature and in the terms in which he gives vent to his pining after his native country and the scenes amongst which his life had been spent; their expression also is strikingly characteristic of the strange patriotism of the Affghan which appears to attach itself to the inanimate surroundings of his home with feelings of the deepest devotion such as resent with sentiments of utter abhorrence, and almost in the light of sacrilege, the intrusion amongst these of the stranger and infidel, while at the same time he is completely devoid, apparently, of any sentimental regard or even interest in his fellow countrymen and neighbours harboured amongst these scenes, beyond the narrow circle of his immediate relations and friends.

It will of course be remarked that many of the local references are to places in what is now the British district of Peshawar within the limits of which a great part of the territories of the Khatak tribe lay. At that time, however, this district was merely a remote dependency of the throne of Delhi whose rule was recognised but little more than in name by the presence of a Moghal governor at Peshawar.

“O morning breeze, should'st thou pass by Khairabad,
Or should thy way lead thee by the side of Surai's stream,
A thousand thousand greetings take from me;
Thither from me countless good wishes bear.
To mighty Indus shout them out with favour,
But to the Lundi stream in whispers softly tell them;
Perchance again my lot may let me quaff them;
I shall not ever dwell beside the Ganges and the Jumna.
If of Hind's climate I complain, what shall I say?
Still worse than on its climate is the curse upon its water;
Since no cold mountain torrents are in Hind.
Perdition take it, though with luxuries it abounds!
Yet to man, while life remains in this world, is ever hope.
That to the suffering will come relief from Him whose attribute is mercy;
The wounded one is ever in expectation,
That of his wound the blood will staunch'd be.
God grant that I again may meet my loved one,
Apart from whom of myself two-thirds are parted;
Yet no rebellious longing bear the wise
Anent the treatment that is ordered by the physician.

Not for ever will Khush-hal remain in Hind.
 At last from Hell will release be granted to the sinner.
 Blessings upon my grand sire, who settled himself at Surai ;
 No place like that, believe me, well do I know it now.
 The dark mountains of Hodi stretch straight up to Tirah ;
 The Nilab and Lundi have laid their heads below ;
 Along these lies the road betwixt Hind and Khorassan.
 It is the crossing of the Attock which makes both Prince and Pilgrim
 tremble ;
 Every abundance that one can think of comes thither.
 No lack of rain, what a freshness ! Ah ! indeed !
 On every side is there the sport of the hawk and various kinds ;
 Wah ! Wah ! Kalapani, what entrancing sport is thine.
 Stout and strong are its youths, active in every movement ;
 Bright-eyed, ruddy-complexioned, tall in stature.
 Whether my son or my grandson, my family or tribe,
 Whoever now abides there, may he live in God's protection.
 Fate has separated me from them, whose power is above fates ?
 Never would Khush-hal Khan of his own will be parted from Surai."

The following are a few specimens of the poems of a religious type, and are remarkable for the deeply devotional spirit which runs through them ; the one marked No. 3 is given in full as being peculiarly characteristic of the author and of the national traits. It commences with expressions of the deepest remorse, and the humblest petition for pardon for past atrocities, which, however, he cannot help naively confessing that he is quite capable of repeating ; he then strives to console himself—as is not uncommonly the case with far more enlightened individuals than poor Khush-hal Khan—that however inconsistent his behaviour might have been, his faith has not wavered ; finally the old Adam breaks out again, and his last prayer is one dictated by the national spirit of a savage pride and love of independence:—

"Gone have thy companions, they have marched to their last home ;
 Yet alone in sleep thou stayest, O that careless heart of mine.
 From non-existence to being, and from life again to death,
 Hasten on the Kaffillas, band succeeding band.
 Plunged in this world's torrent no hope thine of finding footing ;
 Many those that sought to stem it, but they never found the shore.
 From the fury of its torrent to the bank thou ne'er wilt reach ;
 None are they who knew its margin but the people on that side.
 All the profits of this world are vain and empty burdens ;
 Whose is greatest, do not thou consider him a gainer.

To its decrees bring resignation, whatever may happen to your lot ;
Nothing can be averted by prayers or incantations.
Look at thine own hands and feet, and consider well,
All these are proofs of the knowledge of God ;
Say thou ever will do ; I recognise God's Unity.
If God thou hast acknowledged, then place not thy trust on follies ;
Beside God come tell me who is there has created
Human beings from black dust with such forms and qualities ;
O ! God ! do thou not rend the curtain from my soul ;
Display not thou my faults before the eyes of all the world.
On the path that is that of virtue and good name :
On that path do thou ever lead me straight.
On such actions as are good for the world and for the faith :
On such actions do thou always keep my mind intent.
In the world let my heart ever contented remain ;
Let all trouble abide far from it.
My passions and the devil are ever near my side ;
Shew thou clearly to me these two traitors.
However great the faults my hands commit,
When I repent do thou put it far from me ;
Give me such sincerity of repentance,
That never may I go back again from it.
May mortal sin to me be forbidden as the flesh of swine,
And venal be to me as that of mouse or rat.
My evil dispositions do thou take from out my heart ;
For my evil will it is feeds on my heart.
Give me the power and endurance for devotion ;
I am thy slave ; of earth am I, and helpless.
In my account no claim have I for freedom ;
Do thou resign me for one moment to thy mercy.
Repentant am I of my sins,
Ashamed of all that I have committed ;
Disgrace me not now in my old age.
Though in my youth sinful was my nature,
Give me now the power and grace for prayer.
No hope have I but in thy mercy and compassion ;
From thee proceedeth ever favour and pity ;
Tortured am I with the thought of my offences.
Others are now aware of the nature of my actions ;
I alone know what my deeds have been ;
No Jew or Infidel is there whose actions are so vile,
As I know myself to have been in word and deed.
The Hindoo even rises at midnight for adoration ;
Still feebler am I than he in my devotion.
With a thousand other thoughts in my heart, I bend my head in prayer.
All through my life it is thus my prayers that I have said ;
Naught I have gained by worship, nor yet by pious acts ;
In those that I could not avoid, how listless have I been.
Many are those whom I have consigned to the grave ;
Even now am I eager to slay yet more ;

My passions make right wrong, and wrong right to me ;
 Ever am I helpless against their promptings,
 In the torrents of my lusts I plunge myself.
 In the fortress of desire have I secured myself,
 Satan and my passions are in ambush for me at every breath ;
 'Till my last breath am I in terror of them.
 My virtues scarce as gold, my vices are like pebbles,
 Black dust upon my head, what though some gold is mine.
 The faith of His own chosen has God granted to me,
 However much in practice of my deeds I am ashamed.
 Whatever messenger or books have come from Heaven,
 With all the prophets I am of one accord ;
 He who produced both worlds is without associate ;
 Firm in my faith in that article of belief ;
 Of the Day of Judgment am I sure without a doubt.
 Good and bad alike proceed from thee, of this I am aware ;
 After death again is life for human creatures ;
 On all these points from heresy clear is my belief.
 My prophet is Mahommed, son of Abdullah ;
 Devoted am I to his companions ;
 The Imams of his descent all were in their rights ;
 Until the Mahdi comes of all the servant am I ;
 The masters of the religion are four, they are not five ;
 A Hanafi of the Sunni faith am I in my religion.
 What though I am full of sin and swollen with pride,
 Of Him whose attribute is mercy, the slave I ever am.
 When parts my soul from forth my body,
 Do thou bear me to the sight of Paradise,
 That both the Heavenly writers should be satisfied with me ;
 Do thou to such a grave consign me.
 Keep thou ever ruddy my face with the spirit of independence ;
 Let not my cheek be pale in expectation from anyone.
 The walls of my faith surround on all sides ;
 Keep thou in safety its forts and towers ;
 Watch thou me with care ever in this world ;
 Give me not family or descendants void of honour ;
 Time is now ending ; be not careless, Khush-hal ;
 But a few days and nights now remain to thy account.
 Many are they I remember,
 Who have come and passed like wind ;
 Still do others come and pass on ;
 None remain as they have stood.
 Wonderful indeed is this work-shop,
 Which the great Artist has produced.
 Look thou well upon that bubble ;
 What its lasting or its stay ;
 Thus art thou, did'st thou but know it.
 A true example thou wilt prove ;
 Naught dost thou know of thyself.

Ah ! Alas ! how sad it is ;
Be thou first concerned for this ;
Then thy joy will come hereafter.
What troubles hast thou seen, Khush-hal !
Sure thy heart is made of steel."

In conclusion, I must apologise for the baldness of my translations, which are almost literal, and can give but a very feeble idea of the fineness of conception and spirit contained in the original. Were the mode of expression of the latter ruder than is the case—and in many instances it is very far from being anything of the kind—though the metre is not such, of course, as would commend itself to, or be appreciated by Europeans unaccustomed to its rhythm—still the sentiments contained in these productions are thoroughly poetical. Whether war or sentimentality or philosophy be the subject treated of, its mode of handling is true poetry, and that of a simple, natural character, far different from the forced and artificial effusions of most Oriental writers of a similar type.

C. E. BIDDULPH.

THE OFFICERING OF THE INDIAN ARMY.

THE officering of the Indian army, with the various related questions which cluster round it, is a subject of great and growing importance. Its importance is, and has at all times been, great for obvious reasons; but it is growing, and growing rapidly, in view of the undoubted fact that India is daily becoming more and more part and parcel of Great Britain's world-wide empire; and that our Indian troops are likely to become, probably at no distant date, a very momentous factor in our military economy.

An article in this Review for last October* set forth, among other things, a striking, yet probably not exaggerated, picture of the efficiency and soldier-like qualities of those at least of our Indian troops who are drawn from the hardy and warlike races of the North of the peninsula; and furnished what certainly seemed irrefragable proof that these troops, if properly equipped and officered, would be fit to place in line against any conceivable foe. The question as to officering them is thus seen to lie at the very root of the matter, and we therefore propose in the present paper to submit a few brief considerations on the point.

It is a trite yet true remark that the Indian soldier depends on his officer in a very special degree. Under the leading of an officer whom he trusts and loves—and the native soldier of every class is highly susceptible of those feelings—he will, as the phrase is, “Go anywhere and do anything.” But if his officer has failed from any cause to win his trust and secure his affection, he is distinctly less to be relied on; while if his leaders are insufficient in number, whether by the constitution of the service, or in conse-

* The Consolidation of the Empire.

quence of casualties in the field, his efficiency declines rapidly.

This indeed may be predicated with more or less truth of all troops, since it is manifest that no troops in the world could be trusted to cohere and to act efficiently if not sufficiently officered. But the importance of the British officer to Indian troops is accentuated by the fact, too commonly overlooked, that these troops are not, and obviously cannot be, animated by national feeling, or inspired by the sentiment of patriotism, at all events of a patriotism legitimately due to us; and that, when duly considered, however good they are, they are essentially mercenaries. The native soldier accordingly in a peculiar degree looks up to and relies on his British officer. He sees in him the type and impersonation of a superior and conquering people; he believes in his "*ikbal*," or prestige; and when his officer is of that stamp, happily not uncommon in the Indian army, which appeals to his affection and awakens his personal devotion, he cheerfully and proudly dies for him.

This being so, it cannot, we think, but be highly profitable to consider the whole question touching the officering of the Indian army in all its aspects; to examine the system now pursued in this important matter; to scrutinise its defects—defects which, in the opinion of high authorities, are of the gravest character—and to submit suggestions for its improvement. Moreover, it is none too soon to do this, inasmuch as the question, if not yet exactly a "burning" one, threatens ere long to assume that character.

In the following reflections, then, we propose to consider :—

I. The scale on which British officers should be supplied to Indian troops.

II. The source and the mode of that supply.

Seeing that these troops admittedly depend for their efficiency so greatly on their British officers, it is difficult to understand why, save on grounds of a false finance, they should be furnished with less than half the number of

officers which it is thought necessary to supply to British troops ; and this, too, in face of the fact that the latter are supposed to require them less. It is true that the temperance and docility of native soldiers render them easy to manage in time of peace. But India is seldom at peace ; war there is constant and chronic ; the gates of the temple of Janus are seldom closed in the great peninsula, and there looms in the future—perhaps the near future—a too probable war of a kind and on a scale which will cast into the shade all former Indian struggles. Already on many occasions in our past experience our Indian regiments have been sorely crippled, and sometimes almost paralysed, by the loss in battle of their scanty British leaders ; although our former wars have mostly been small, soon over, and waged with inferior foes. In a deadly, and possibly protracted, struggle with a more formidable enemy, it is simply appalling to contemplate the probable result of such depletion of the British element. It would be a positive courting of disaster in the shock of battle to send our Indian regiments into serious war with no more than eight or ten British officers—nay, it would be a courting of disaster to send any troops into action so inadequately officered, since we suppose the Grenadier Guards themselves could scarcely be expected to display the full measure of their efficiency without a sufficient establishment of commissioned officers. But if British or French or German troops, whom we are accustomed to regard as superior to Indian ones, and who are inspired in battle by all the ardour of national pride and love of country, could not be trusted in action without a full proportion of officers, it is difficult to see on what principle we venture on so dangerous an experiment in our dealings with our native Indian soldiers, who differ from ourselves in race and religion, and who, as above shown, lack the sentiment of patriotism towards us.

The Indian army is in truth a strange and marvellous phenomenon—nay, for the matter of that, our whole position in India is so ; and the whole thing teems with anomalies ;

but of all the marvellous features of this phenomenon, and of all the anomalies which it presents, perhaps the most marvellous is this, that we habitually venture to send bodies of Asiatic mercenaries into war with an inadequate proportion of British officers. It is pretty generally known that foreign military critics view with amazement the way in which we dare to rely at all on troops drawn from the races whom we have subdued; but most of all do they wonder at our audacity in employing them with so few leaders of our own race: this they have at all times regarded as the extreme of rashness, if not of absolute folly: and well they may. But, however the experiment may have succeeded in our former wars—and it has not always succeeded too well—it may be confidently predicted that it will not succeed in the probable warfare of the future: and the sooner we rectify the matter the better it will be for us, if we wish to avoid ruinous defeat and humiliating disaster.

Doubtless the opponents of this idea would here point out that the British officers are not the only officers who are attached to Indian regiments. They would argue that every regiment of that class is provided with a full complement of native officers: and that in point of fact the British officers form merely a sort of directing staff, and operate as a kind of leaven intended to inspire the entire battalion. This argument, however, though highly plausible and specious, is essentially fallacious, and will not for a moment hold water.

It is by no means our intention to say anything in depreciation of the native officer of the Indian army. At all periods in our Indian history, together with grave and notorious defects, he has exhibited highly useful and meritorious qualities; and though leaving much to be desired, he is not by any means “a negligible quantity” in our military system in the East. But when all is said and done, he is not, and never will be, an effective substitute for the British officer, or a factor which could in any degree render the latter superfluous or dispensable.

In the good old sleepy pre-Mutiny days he was generally little more than a respectable old Sepoy, who, as a reward for a blameless, but often undistinguished service of some thirty years, was raised from the ranks and became, at least in name, an officer. But he seldom possessed any of the qualities essential for the due performance of the duties of that rank, except indeed personal courage. He was too often indolent and devoid of zeal or intelligence: and, having attained to the highest position which was open to him, he too generally abandoned himself to sloth and good living: consumed large quantities of "*ghee*," or clarified butter; and rode a "*tattoo*," or country-bred pony, on the line of march; whilst on parade he would "*lard the lean earth*" with the copious perspiration from his bulky and overfed form. The Sepoys concealed not their contempt for him; and if he belonged to an inferior caste, as was frequently the case, the Brahmin private was a greater man than he. It goes without saying that such an officer was little better than useless; and indeed his inutility was conspicuously proved in the Mutiny—in a manner, it is true, fortunate for us—by the fact that in hardly a single instance did that class furnish to the rebel ranks a leader worthy of the name. Perhaps the sole utility of the institution, and its sole justification, consisted in the fact that the position formed a valuable goal for the ambition of the Sepoy, a powerful incentive to fidelity and good conduct in the ranks, and a cherished reward for blameless mediocrity.

It has indeed always been understood that in the Bombay army, and perhaps also in that of Madras, a better type of native officer existed than that prevailing in Bengal: younger, smarter, and selected more for merit and fitness than on account of respectable imbecility: and we learn with unfeigned satisfaction that in all three presidencies a steady but marked improvement has taken place, and is still proceeding, in the qualifications of this class. Therefore, as just remarked, it is a factor not to be overlooked in the

constitution of our Indian forces: but we repeat that it may be very confidently predicted that no possible or conceivable improvement in it ever will, or ever could, render it an efficient substitute for the British officer.

Instances of bravery on the part of native officers have never been wanting, and assuredly nothing could surpass the almost romantic bravery of the gallant Goorka Subadar—we blush that we cannot at this moment recall his name—who last year, in the Black Mountain district of our North-Western frontier, so heroically stood by the body of his slain commanding officer, Colonel Battye,* and by the wounded Captain Urmston. But bravery alone will not make an efficient leader: and no native officer can ever possess that mysterious “*ikbal*,” that subtle prestige of superiority and success, of which we but now spoke, and which seems to radiate in so wondrous a way from the person of even the youngest British officer.

We have just alluded to the fearful risk of defeat which is involved in the sending of our Indian troops into battle with an insufficient complement of British officers; but grave as is that risk, it is not the only danger which attends our existing system. *There is positively no reserve of such officers*—no source from which casualties among them could be supplied; and therefore we have to confront the danger—nay the certainty—that, in the event of a serious war being seriously prolonged, our native regiments, with their present small number of British officers, would shortly

* Colonel Battye was one of three gallant brothers—all of them officers of the Bengal army—who have found a soldier's death in our recent Indian wars. The first was the chivalrous Quintin Battye, who fell, charging with the “Guides,” at the siege of Delhi. Another of them, Wigram Battye, not less amiable and chivalrous, was slain while leading the same corps in the last Afghan war. All of them were alike conspicuous for the highest qualities of the soldier; and all of them possessed an almost magical power of winning the love and confidence of Indian troops.

“Dii patrii, quorum semper sub numine Troia est,
Non tamen omnino Teucros delere paratis,
Cum tales animos juvenum et tam certa tulistis,
Pectora.”

be almost, if not entirely, denuded of that vitally essential class. And it should ever be borne in mind that this danger is intensified by the fact that the British officers of native troops, from their conspicuous appearance, are much more liable to be "picked off" in battle than are the officers of European regiments. In confirmation of this statement we need only quote one sentence from the article to which we have referred above,* where, speaking of the Corps of Guides at the siege of Delhi, the writer says :—"more than once during the investment *every* British officer of the regiment was laid up wounded; and an entirely new set had to be for the time appointed." Well, at that time, owing to the simultaneous mutiny of nearly the whole of the original Bengal army, there was fortunately a great wealth of British officers available to fill up the voids of war in those corps which were faithful to our cause. But we should be curious to know from what source our present slender cadres of British officers would be recruited, when reduced, or possibly extinguished, by the casualties of a serious and protracted war. This is a problem which might well puzzle the wisest heads; and it were worse than folly to ignore it. It is our obvious duty; it is of the very essence of our security, boldly to confront it now, and to solve it, if it may be solved, ere the hour of trial strikes.

Now, on the very threshold of the question, it should be borne in mind that this problem is gravely complicated by the fact that the British officer of the Indian army is no ready made or readily improvised article which can be quickly worked up into efficiency when the demand for him arises. On the contrary he is a highly manufactured article which it takes considerable time and much preparation to mould into usefulness. It should be borne in mind that every one of these officers is, and necessarily must be, possessed more or less of certain accomplishments difficult of

* "The Consolidation of the Empire" (this Review for October, 1889).

attainment, and requiring time for their acquisition.* In the first place, in order to be an efficient leader of native troops, he must know their character and temperament, and though the day has happily gone by for any servile truckling to the caste prejudices and so-called religious caprices of the Sepoys, yet it is obvious that the British officer who is to lead them, and who cannot successfully do so without first winning their esteem, must have some acquaintance with their peculiar idiosyncrasies, and, to reach their hearts, must understand them. Then again, not only must he know his men, but his men must know him, since the native soldier is never at the best point of his efficiency, save under officers whom he knows, respects and loves. But all this mutual knowledge, this consideration on the one side, this respect and love upon the other, must manifestly be the growth of time, and it could never be improvised by officers suddenly supplied to the native troops from crude sources in the crisis of a serious war.

But even if some persons were disposed to underrate this difficulty, or to assert that we overrate it, there remains one consideration which alone would prove the impossibility of any sudden augmentation of the class in question, at least with any hope of the new supply proving efficient, and this single consideration we take to be unanswerable. We refer to the indisputable necessity of the British officer of native troops being practically acquainted with the languages of his men—we say languages advisedly, since probably no native battalion exists in which but one language or dialect is spoken by its members. Well, we shall not waste time in demonstrating the self-evident; since it would be, as our lively neighbours say, *enfoncez une porte ouverte* to set about to show that a knowledge—even a bare colloquial know-

* Sir Henry Lawrence, in his "Essays Military and Political," says, "In no army are higher qualifications required." Lord Hardinge, in his famous encomium of Major Broadfoot, said, "He was second to none in this *accomplished* service." Lord Dalhousie recorded of Mackeson, "His loss would have dimmed a victory."

ledge—of oriental languages is not a thing which can be suddenly improvised or even quickly acquired; and without such a knowledge no officer can be of any use with native Indian troops. It results from this, that if in the hour of need England were to offer scores or hundreds of otherwise qualified officers to fill the voids of war among the officers of our Indian army—and, we may ask, where would these scores or hundreds come from?—it would be of no avail. Any healthy and high-spirited young Englishman who had passed his drill might at once efficiently lead soldiers who were his countrymen, and might soon efficiently command them in all situations. But, to lead and to command Indian troops, mere health and high spirit and a smattering of drill will not suffice; since for this are required special qualities, the growth of time; and it would be as useless to supply to these troops officers deficient in these qualities, as it would be to supply so many spirited young landmen to act as naval officers in the event of a sudden and emergent demand arising for that class.

The present writer well remembers a good-natured passage of arms which took place in India between the colonel of an English regiment and the commanding officer of a native one. Quoth Colonel A. to Colonel B.: "I can't understand, old fellow, why the Government should give you as high pay for commanding these chaps of yours as they give to me for commanding my costly fusiliers;" to which quoth Colonel B.: "It has always been an enigma to me why the Government should give you as high pay for commanding your Englishmen as they give me for commanding my Sikhs. I am an Englishman and a soldier, and could easily command your men, since they are my countrymen; but you could not command my fellows—you could not command a squad of them—for you don't know their language. I am paid not only for being a soldier, but for being a scholar"—and Colonel B. laughed last, as the Italians say,—"*Ride bene chi ride l' ultimo.*"—Sir Charles Napier used to say that if he knew the native languages, it would

be equal to an addition of ten thousand men to the Indian army ; and we may aptly quote the following curious passage which occurs as a foot-note in one of Sir Henry Lawrence's essays:—

“ Malcolm's anecdote of the old native officers always taking their sons to salaam to the pictures of Coote and Medowes in the Town Hall of Madras, but of their making a distinction in favour of the former, is an example of the advantage of long intimacy with the Sepoys. Sir William Medowes was an admirable soldier. On the breaking out of the American war, being transferred from a corps which he had long commanded, he called for volunteers to accompany him, and every man stepped out. Such an officer must everywhere be loved, but probably he could not talk to natives, and therefore lost one important engine of influence. . . . Let us not be told that Hastings and Clive could not converse with natives. They were giants ; rules are not for such.”

Seeing then that the Indian officer is not a raw material, but a highly manufactured article—a linguist, an interpreter, an expert in the fullest sense—is it not a fearful rashness to keep so slender a stock of the class, and to keep absolutely no reserve of it ? Magnificent this, possibly, but certainly not war. Of course, if we are willing to run all risks, and to maintain our native forces solely for show, or solely to confront uncivilised foes, good and well. But if we contemplate the possibility of serious war with a truly formidable enemy ; or if we wish our Indian troops to be a generally useful factor in our military economy, this matter should be seen to now.

We are aware that there is, or used to be, a school of thinkers on this point, who gravely held that Indian troops were more efficient when provided with few British officers than with many ; when led by three such officers than if led by thirty of them. We should imagine that that school is now extinct, although some persons still oppose a full complement of officers on financial grounds. More than thirty years ago the controversy raged in India on this point—the controversy between the advocates of what was then called the Regular *versus* the Irregular system. Foremost among the advocates of the latter was General Sir John Jacob, of the Bombay army, and of Scinde renown, an

officer of whom that or any other army might well be proud, and whose opinion on any question was justly entitled to the greatest weight. For some time prior to the great Mutiny there had sprung up, whether rightly or wrongly, a distinct leaning towards the Irregular principle, and many people had got into the habit of extolling the Irregular corps, and pointing to them as the most efficient and reliable native mercenaries in the country. Sir John Jacob—himself a brilliant Irregular leader, and as dashing in argument as in the charge, trenchant alike with sword and pen—hesitated not to ascribe the supposed superiority of these troops to the scale on which they were officered, and declared it as his opinion that the same scale should be applied to the entire native army. More especially was it claimed for these troops, that they were animated by more personal devotion to their three selected British officers, than the men of the Regular regiments felt towards their larger number of officers not specially selected; and were more faithful to their salt than these. But, alas for theory! the stern facts of the mutiny swiftly brushed away this belief. The once renowned horsemen of Christie, Fisher and Holmes, with others of scarcely inferior fame, scrupled not to stain their trusty blades in the blood of their officers, while local and irregular contingents of every shade, though officered on the Irregular system, joined the standard of revolt.

And even if the internal economy and military spirit of the Regular regiments had at that time fallen into a condition inferior to that of the Irregulars, the circumstance should have been ascribed, not to the excess of British officers attached to the former, but to the anomalous and unsatisfactory position of those officers. It was not because there were too many such officers attached to the Regular regiments, but rather because these officers had fallen, by the abuses of the service, into an anomalous and unhealthy position—the position of discontented aspirants for better situations; or, if all hope of that was gone, into the still more unwholesome position of disappointed regimental

hacks. It should be borne in mind that in those days almost every officer present with a native regiment of the line was more or less a disappointed and discontented man, while every officer attached to an Irregular regiment was a man flushed and gratified by the *éclat* and the emoluments of his situation. The Regular officer daily witnessed the departure of his more fortunate comrades to fill offices of honour and emolument; he daily hoped to go and do likewise; and under the influence of such feelings, how could it be expected that he should take much pride or interest in his regimental duties? The Irregular officer, on the other hand, had nothing to sigh for; he was a gratified and successful man; he was in good spirits and good self-esteem; and, proud of his men, and of himself as their commander, he performed his duties in a spirit far different from that of regimental routine. His men saw his temper, and shared it; they perceived his jaunty satisfaction, and partook of it, and all went well. But happily that system is now changed, so the argument, if ever there was anything in it, no longer holds good;* and whether it did or not, we think it must be sufficiently plain that, in view of our present and impending necessities, a full complement of British officers is essential to the efficiency of our native troops—a complement sufficiently strong, not only to meet the shock of battle, but to supply at least something in the nature of a reserve, in case of the prolongation of warlike operations—such a cadre as would not only provide for effective leading in the field, but which would also to a certain extent supply the blanks caused by death and wounds, and maintain the efficiency of the troops under the strain of protracted warfare.

To those who object to a sufficient complement of British officers on the ground of its unquestionable costliness, and

* Honour will be to him who, notwithstanding the outcry that will follow, will change the system that has brought Irregular troops into fashion, to the disparagement of Regulars."—*Sir Henry Lawrence (Essays Military and Political)*

the alleged inability of the finances of India to cope with that cost, we can only say that the Empire must pay for its insurance, and that it were better to incur even a heavy expense for the needful security of India, than to incur the too probable risk of losing that Empire altogether.

There are some who would seek to meet the necessities of the case at a diminished cost, by an expedient of very questionable complexion. Such persons would provide a full cadre of officers for only a portion of our Indian troops, leaving the remainder of them to be commanded by a small cadre. They would accordingly divide the Indian armies into two classes—the first class, intended for serious war, the steel point of the lance, picked from the best of the war-like races, equipped with the most approved arms of precision, and led by a full cadre of selected British officers. The second class, composed of inferior fighting material, armed in an inferior manner, and commanded by a small number of officers, would be maintained solely for what might be called second-class warfare, or warfare with uncivilized and feeble foes, and for the preservation of domestic order. But surely it would be manifestly absurd to keep up any troops but the best. The best article is generally not only the most useful, but it is also the cheapest in the end. The best we could get would be none too good for our purposes; and a second-class army would not be worth keeping. It would obviously be better to maintain a small but highly efficient force, than a larger one, of which one half was of more than doubtful utility. The so-called second-class wars would be more easily and quickly, and therefore more cheaply, settled by a small first-class force than by a large force of the second class; while the maintenance of internal order is the duty, not of soldiers at all, but of an armed constabulary. And even if these things were not so, we should like to know where the officers for the second-class army would be found. We should be curious to learn what British officer worthy of the name would consent to be attached to a force admittedly inferior in character, and avowedly intended only for

easy and inglorious warfare. No—as well insisted on by Sir Henry Lawrence,* “What India requires is an army deriving its strength, not from its numbers, but from its efficiency;” and again, “It is not a very numerous army, but a really efficient and contented one, that is wanted.” Thus we think it will be conceded that it would be an obvious absurdity deliberately to form and maintain in India a body of troops avowedly unfitted for the more serious contingencies of war.

We have now considered the first division of our subject, namely, the scale on which British officers should be supplied to Indian troops, and we trust we have established the proposition that the scale on which they are now supplied is insufficient alike for the shock of battle and for the supplementing of casualties in a serious war; and that if these troops are to be relied on in operations of a formidable character and protracted duration; and if they are to be regarded as an efficient factor in our general military economy, and in other than Indian fields, it is absolutely needful that they should be led by an establishment of British officers very considerably exceeding that now provided for them.

It is now time to consider the second part of our theme, namely, the source or sources from which such officers should be supplied, and the mode of supplying them. For this purpose it would be convenient to review—first, the source and mode of their supply in the time preceding the great Mutiny; secondly, the source and mode now existing; and lastly, the sources and the mode which to us appear the most fitting and appropriate.

In the days prior to the Mutiny, and the consequent extinction of the government of the East India Company, the officers of the Indian army were nominated by the Court of Directors of that Corporation, or rather, by individual Directors of that Court, who, from time to time, as vacancies

* *Essays Military and Political.*

occurred, appointed young gentlemen as cadets, who, on arrival in India, received commissions and became officers of the various branches of the service. The majority of those destined for the cavalry and infantry were appointed "direct," as it was called; that is to say, they did not undergo any preliminary professional training at any military seminary or otherwise. Like the officers of the same branches in the British army at that time, they underwent no examination whatever; and it must be admitted that the greater part of these young officers, in both services, generally possessed little more than the merest elements of education. The officers of the Engineers and of the Artillery were similarly nominated, but these were subjected to a special professional training at the Company's once famous Military College of Addiscombe; which institution also at all times furnished a few officers to the Cavalry and Infantry, being for the most part those who from want of ability or industry failed to qualify for the scientific branches.

These cadets were for the most part drawn from the same social strata as were the officers of the ordinary regiments of the British army, indeed in large families it was a common thing for one son to be in the British, or, as it was then called, the Royal, Service, and another in the Indian army. They were essentially gentlemen; though generally poor gentlemen; younger sons of English squires and Scottish lairds, with the usual proportion of sons of clergymen, military and naval officers, and other professional men. The Indian army did not of course hold out much attraction to the sons of the aristocracy or the plutocracy, who were and are to be found in the English cavalry, the guards, and certain crack regiments of the line,—although at all times it contained a sprinkling of the younger scions of the poorer nobility, and some of its officers from time to time even blossomed by succession into peers.

But if it did not as a rule penetrate the higher strata of society, neither did it push its roots, as did the "Royal" service, into the lower ones. Unlike the latter service, it

never admitted into its order men promoted from the ranks. The East India Company seems to have had a horror of that class which has always seemed to us so meritorious and so interesting, the class of officers raised from the ranks. It was not indeed slow to recognise and to reward good conduct and high desert among the non-commissioned officers of its numerous artillery, and its European infantry regiments, but it never did so by making them officers of native regiments. It had other and perhaps more suitable rewards for meritorious members of that class, in the form of substantial and comfortable unattached posts with good pay ; but it seems to have been determined that the officers of its native forces should ever be emphatically gentlemen by birth and education ; and in this we think that it showed its wonted sagacity, since imagination, tact and refinement are qualities essential for the due comprehension of Asiatic troops, and for the acquisition of influence over them. Sir John Jacob used to say that it would be well if the natives of India could never even see an inferior Englishman.

The Indian officer of thirty years ago, like his brother in the British service, had no pretension to science—in those days what military officer had ? But, on the other hand, many of them attained to a high degree of Oriental scholarship, and all of them wielded a powerful colloquial knowledge of the vernacular tongues of the country ; indeed it is the opinion of many that in this respect they excelled the officers of the present day, and this although there is now much more general book study of these languages than prevailed in former times. In this connection it may not be out of place to cite, with some abridgment, the following passage from an article which appeared in the *Calcutta Review** shortly after the close of the Mutiny :

“ It is asserted by old residents that the colloquial skill of Anglo-Indians has very much declined of recent years, and that although there is more studying of Hindostanee nowadays, there is less practical pro-

* *Calcutta Review*, vol. xxx., June, 1858, “ The India Question.”

iciency, more book learning, but less lip skill. This circumstance, together with the growing indifference of young Anglo-Indians to the people of the country, their languages, sentiments, and customs, is ascribed to the very improvements which are daily taking place in Anglo-Indian life; to the increased facilities and greater frequency of communication with England; the greater prevalence and improved character of English female society in India; the increase of matrimony; the diffusion of English literature, and with it of English sentiments and customs; the extinction of *hookahs* and *hookah-burdars*; and all the other wholesome reforms and refinements which are gradually assimilating Indian to English life, and mitigating the many discomforts of Indian exile.

• “We are thus reduced to the embarrassing conclusion that the improvement of Anglo-Indian society is identical with the estrangement of its members from the people of the country; that the tastes and pursuits of civilised life are incompatible with any degree of sympathy with our Indian fellow-subjects; that the more respectable we become the more antagonistic we must grow towards the indigenous races, and that the love of our country and our country’s ways, means the hatred of India and the Indians. We are told that the old school of Anglo-Indians purchased their colloquial dexterity, and their general familiarity with the people, at the price of their comfort, their refinement, their dignity, and even of their morality. And we are asked whether we should not wish to see society in this country refined and moral and intelligent, retaining in exile the tastes and usages of a civilised community, and living up to English standards, although at some cost to their relations with the people of this country; or whether, on the other hand, we should wish to see them maintaining those relations at the cost of their own civilisation and morality—whether, in a word, we are to have good Englishmen and bad orientalists, or good orientalists and bad Englishmen.

“It cannot be denied that the estrangement of the races, or at least that growing mutual indifference which is supposed to characterise their relations at the present moment, has grown up and kept pace with the social improvements conferred by recent years on the Anglo-Indian community. The amusements and recreations of the Anglo-Indian are nowadays so largely drawn from England; his English tastes and hopes are so fostered and kept alive by the progress of locomotive agency; and his existence is daily so rapidly losing its character of expatriation, that he is no longer thrown upon the resources of the country to the same extent as his predecessors were. In this wise he is becoming gradually separated from the Indian people and the Indian ways: and despairing observers declare that the separation is permanent in its character, and destined to increase. But the latter point is the very point which we must be allowed to doubt. We admit the premisses, but we venture to deny the conclusion. The existence of the evil cannot be disputed, but we deny that the evil is incurable or destined of necessity to increase. We hold it to be the temporary evil of a transition state. At the present time we are passing through a phase of social transition, and the estrangement of the races is one of the temporary conditions of that phase. To us it seems that whatever

temporary dislocation may be caused by the onward tendencies of things, all will eventually harmonise and work together for the general good. The angry passions of the present juncture will in due time soften down and be forgotten; and the natives, conquered by our power and by our enlightenment into a growing sympathy with us, will have to make those onward strides which will diminish by degrees the gulf between the two races, and reunite, in a degree compared to which all former harmony was faint and futile, their aims and ends and aspirations. We do not say that we are to go back to join company with the natives; we say, and we believe it, that the natives will come forward to join company with us."

There is considerable comfort in the above passage; and at the present day observers who read between the lines in matters Indian assert that they can distinctly discern symptoms of that *rapprochement* between the natives and the Europeans, which the Calcutta reviewer ventured to predict: and also that the British officers of the Indian army are as well acquainted with the languages and the idiosyncrasies of their men as is needful for all purposes of true efficiency, without becoming, as was too frequently the case in earlier days, half Hindooised in the process.

The last characteristic of the Indian officer which remains to be noticed, and it is as true of him now as it was in former times, is the fact that he generally, we might say almost invariably, looked on his calling as a serious life-long profession: a means of liberal support in his prime, and of comfortable retirement in old age. Being usually what is called poor men, the substantial emoluments of the service, its numerous well-paid staff appointments, and its liberal retiring allowances, served to attach them to it in a closer degree than is the case in the British service. While officers of the latter are constantly retiring for various, and often trivial reasons, the Indian officer sticks to his profession for life, and identifies himself with it in a manner not elsewhere to be found. The habits of the Indian officer are, and have at all times been, those of the period in the class from which he is drawn, with perhaps an added dash of *Nabobism* and oriental luxury, while the necessity of keeping horses, and the ability to do so, together with the

general practice of the nobler field sports, tended to render him a decidedly "all-round" man. Of these officers, as in other services, some were first-rate, most were good, and of course some were bad: but the long and brilliant roll of names of distinguished Indian soldiers, ranging from Clive to Napier, Grant, and Roberts, is the best testimony to the goodness of the stuff of which they were made, and of the school in which it was moulded. More especially the Indian service, with its Homeric hand-to-hand fighting, has at all times been prolific of the *beau sabreur* class, of which Chamberlain, Probyn, Hodson, and "Sam" Browne, are distinguished types: while the many-sided nature of Indian employment has resulted in the production of that speciality of India, the soldier-political—the man alike prepared to conquer a province and to rule it—men like Henry Lawrence, Herbert Edwardes, James Outram, and John Nicholson.

About the time of the great Mutiny, and very possibly in consequence of it, it seems to have occurred to the authorities that the officers of the Indian army would be improved by some tincture of the more rigid discipline prevailing in British regiments, and which was rightly enough believed to be somewhat lacking in the native battalions. With this object in view an order was issued requiring all young officers of the Company's service to do duty for a year at least with an English regiment before taking up their duties with the native troops. This system was probably attended with considerable advantage to the officers concerned, and it was not accompanied by any disadvantages to the regiments with which they did duty. The Colonels of the British regiments willingly imparted to these neophytes some knowledge of the British regimental system: being supernumerary to the establishments of the regiments with which they acted, their presence in these regiments tended to lighten the minor routine duties of the battalion; a modicum of good resulted and at all events no harm was done. It is apparently to this practice

that we owe the present method of supplying officers to native regiments, which we now proceed to consider.

On the abolition of the East India Company, and on the so-called "amalgamation" of the British and Indian Armies, it was resolved that from that time forward all officers intended for service with native troops should not only do duty for a time with British regiments—a system, as we have seen, at once beneficial and innocuous—but should actually belong to such regiments, and form an integral part of their establishments, for a greater or less period, prior to joining the Indian troops: in other words that henceforth the British army should be the source from which the Indian army should be officered: the laboratory in which the raw material represented by young English gentlemen should be worked up into the Indian officer, and supplied to the Indian army.

It is difficult to imagine what motives induced the authorities to adopt this system. If it was done with the view of imparting to the novice some knowledge of the British regimental system, we have just seen that this object could be attained, without attendant mischief, by attaching young officers to British regiments as supernumeraries for duty during a limited period. If again the Government thought that the new system would have the effect of linking the two services together in closer bonds of comradeship; we would reply, first, that no necessity exists for any special efforts to that end, since the services are already quite sufficiently attached by the sentiment of fellow-soldiership, by common patriotism, and, as before noted, by family connection; and, secondly, we would observe that this sentiment has not been in any way strengthened by this system; since it is notorious that the young officers who join the Indian service through this channel are, to the extent of nine-tenths of them, simply men who always intended to join that service, and would join it under whatever system prevailed; and therefore they neither feel nor inspire any special interest in the service to which they are thus temporarily attached. Lastly, if the

Government imagined that a brief sojourn with a white regiment would impart any particular prestige to the young officer, and that it would tend to elevate the standard of the Indian Army ; to this we would reply that the prestige of the British officer in India is drawn from his nationality, and not from any temporary and trivial antecedents in his career ; while it is simply laughable to suppose that the class which produced Jacob, Outram, Chamberlain, and Edwardes, as well as many like them, could possibly depend for its "standard" on the accident of a brief spell of duty in an ordinary battalion of the line ; and as to social standing we have already shown that the Indian officer is, and has at all times been, drawn from the very same social strata as the ordinary English officer.

But not only is the present system unprofitable : it is also positively mischievous in a high degree. It is good for nobody, and liked by nobody. It is bad for the British regiments which are thus made the channel for supplying officers to the Indian army : it is bad for those officers themselves : and it is bad for the Indian service. It is a grave inconvenience to British regiments to be constantly losing young officers, just as they are beginning to be useful, while their departure increases the incidence of duty on those who remain, until fresh subalterns are supplied and worked up into usefulness only to be lost in turn : and this process is perpetually going on. It is bad for these young officers to spend a time with British regiments, to become fond of them, and to regard them as a home ; and then to be torn from them to enter upon a different career. And it is bad for the Indian regiments to receive young officers who have become partial to another service, and who, for a time at least, look with distaste on their new surroundings. Colonels of British regiments not unnaturally resent the necessity of training young men in whom they can take so permanent interest ; and they complain loudly that their regiments are not only constantly being deserted by these alumni ; but that they are too often de-

served by the best of them, the most spirited and enterprising. The other officers of those regiments can look with little interest on comrades of such a temporary character that they are in fact not comrades at all; while the young officers themselves who are destined for the Indian army, feeling that they have no real part or lot in the life around them, have the uneasy sensation of strangers and birds of passage: and if, in spite of this, they imbibe a liking for their temporary home, this has only the effect of increasing the regret with which they leave it; and their aversion, even though this may soon wear off, to their new career.

But if it should be urged by the supporters of the present system that the above objections to it are more or less sentimental in their character, and are not sufficiently serious and substantial to warrant a departure from it, there remains to be noticed by far the most fatal objection of all: and it is one which assuredly cannot be stigmatised as fanciful or shadowy in its character. If the withdrawal of young officers from British regiments is attended by grave inconveniences in time of peace: in time of serious war it would become simply impossible: since then those regiments, far from being able to spare any portion of their establishments, would require to keep every officer they possessed, and would also stand in need of a constant fresh supply of them to meet the drain of warlike operations.

It is notorious that in our two latest Indian wars—the Afghan and the Burmese, and they were comparatively “little wars”—extraordinary demands were made on the British army for young officers for our native regiments; and that the greatest difficulty was experienced in providing anything like the requisite number of them; and this, although the selection was thrown open to the entire British army, wherever quartered, to the royal marines, and to the West India regiments,* and although the qualifying stan-

* There were then two such regiments.

dards of admission to the Indian army were if necessary to be lowered for the purpose. But, we would ask our readers, if such was the difficulty of procuring an emergent supply of officers for the Indian army from British regiments during two small, local, and ephemeral wars, and while the empire at large was at peace, how could it be hoped that any supply of them could be obtained from that source during a serious and possibly protracted war against a numerous and formidable enemy on the Indian frontier, even if peace prevailed in Europe: while if England herself were at the same time engaged in war, it would be more hopeless and impossible still: and even if it were possible, we have shown in an earlier part of this paper that officers suddenly supplied from crude sources, and destitute of the peculiar qualifications essential for the successful leading of Oriental troops, could be of little use. However, it is sufficient to say that, under the present system, it would be impossible to get officers at all for the Indian army just at the critical moment when they were most needed: so that it is nothing less than a wilful occupation of a fool's paradise to continue our reliance on that system.

We make bold to think that this proposition must be self-evident to every mind, and therefore we shall not waste time or space in any further discussion of it. The only wonder is that any intelligent government should ever have adopted a system which, in addition to its many other grave defects, contains within itself the sure germs of its own destruction: but when we consider how often and how grossly governments and government departments do contrive to blunder in their arrangements, and what fantastic tricks they often play, we could wish that they would bring to the discharge of their duties at least as much common sense as an ordinarily intelligent grocer applies to his business. Possibly the truth is that the interest of the intelligent grocer depends on his using common sense: but the salaries of ministers and secretaries are comfortably assured to them whether they blunder or not.

We proceed now to consider finally what system ought, in our opinion, to be adopted for the officering of the Indian army—the sources from which, and the mode in which, British officers should be supplied to that service. Well, unless we have in vain written the foregoing parts of this paper, we imagine it must be evident that the first and foremost desideratum in any such system must be that it shall be absolutely independent of any other and distinct organization. It must stand upon its own feet, and be essentially independent and self-supporting. It must on no account lean on any other and separate system designed for distinct purposes; and, above all, the Indian army must no longer depend for its British officers on the British regiments which themselves require their complete establishments, and which, under the stress of war, could not possibly have any of them to spare. In other words, and *mutatis mutandis*, we ought to revert in essentials to the system which prevailed prior to the Mutiny. Young men who desire to enter the Indian army should from the first declare that they are candidates for it; and there should be a separate competition for that service, precisely as there now is a separate competition for Woolwich and for the British Cavalry and Infantry; and, as indeed there is, and always has been, a separate competition for the Indian medical service, quite distinct from that for the medical departments of the British army or navy. The Indian army should be frankly recognised as a separate and distinct service *per se*; and there is little room to doubt that the manifold attractions of an Indian career, especially to men of small fortune but enterprising temperament, will at all times attract, as they always have attracted in the past, an abundant number of candidates of the very stamp required. Indeed, the only thing to be apprehended would be that the superior advantages of that career might possibly seriously diminish the number of candidates who might come forward for the British service. However, England has doubtless plenty of young men ready to enter all branches of her service.

The next question is as to where the young men who pass for India should receive their preliminary military education. Many persons whose judgment is entitled to the greatest weight are of opinion that the best course would be to organise a special training college for the Indian service—to create a second Addiscombe—and when we remember what admirable men were turned out by the Addiscombe of the past, the idea of reviving it is full of promise. All attempts to effect a true amalgamation of the British and the Indian services have failed, and are probably destined to fail. Seeing that an exaggerated *esprit de corps* is so rampant in the English army, that not only each branch of it looks askance at all its other branches, but each regiment thinks itself better than its neighbour, how can we expect that two distinct services, like the British and the Indian, should be animated by any sentiment of homogeneity? With all due mutual respect for each other, they still are, and will ever be, distinct and separate organizations; and the wisest course would be to recognise this from the outset, and to train the young Indian officer in a special institution specially designed for the service of India. If the British and the Indian cadets are to be mingled together at Sandhurst, there will always be undesirable friction and unwholesome class feeling between them, and it would be far better that they should be separated from the commencement. Wholesome rivalry and pride of service would then take the place of petty jealousies and unpleasant friction, and all would go more smoothly. In a separate college, moreover, the Indian cadet would receive, in addition to general military training, a special preparation in things essential to an Indian career, and would from the first imbibe a bias for employment in India, and a wholesome pride in the service of his choice. Sir James Outram said, "We should specially train officers *for* India, and lead their thoughts and wishes from early youth *to* India"—and surely this could best be done in a special establishment for the purpose.

If, however, for any reason, financial or other, the idea of

creating or reviving a special military college for India should not find favour, then, of course, the Indian cadets would have to receive their preliminary training at Sandhurst; and by all accounts the training which is there imparted leaves little to be desired. But while at Sandhurst, and from the very day of their entrance to it, they should be declared Indian cadets; indeed, as we have just said, they ought to be that—or avowed candidates for that position—from the day of their first presenting themselves for examination; and on passing out of Sandhurst they should be forthwith appointed to the Indian army.

The existing system whereby a certain number of candidates are admitted to the competition for the army from certain universities, should be extended so as to admit of such candidates competing for the Indian service separately; and it would probably be advisable to still further expand this principle, and throw open the competition to the more advanced alumni of both public and private schools. The senior scholars of such seminaries are just the sort of stuff who would make desirable candidates for commissions; and we are by no means sure that any real benefit is gained by their passing a few terms at a university. Probably this does more harm than real good; it is too apt to engender expensive habits; and the charms of university life are but too likely to give rise to an undue taste for English home existence, and to a corresponding distaste to India. It has often been said that young men destined for an Indian career should be caught young, and before they have imbibed too powerful a love for life in England.

There may be some who would advocate that Indian officers might also, with advantage, be admitted from the militia. In such a view we should certainly hesitate to concur. In the first place, that force is already probably quite sufficiently taxed in providing officers for the British line; and we think that we have already shown that the Indian service ought, for its supply of British officers, to be entirely independent of sources already not more than

adequate for the provision of the English army in peace, still less in war. But in addition to this objection to the idea under consideration, there remains the much graver objection, already dwelt upon in an earlier part of this paper, that officers accustomed to English troops are not well suited for transfer to Indian ones ; and it is but too likely that the young officer of the militia would, during his service in that force, imbibe a full share of those predilections and prejudices which, as before stated, form, to say the least, a very unfavourable preparation for an Indian career,

As to the admission of officers by transfer from British regiments, we imagine we have already demonstrated the objections to that course : which would be indeed *pro tanto*, merely a perpetuation of the existing system ; and we have written in vain if we have failed to show that that system is at once vicious in its principle and impracticable in its operation.

The present practice of allotting a certain number of cadetships on proof of qualification, but free from the strains and uncertainties of open competition, under the name of Queen's India cadetships, might, with advantage, be considerably extended, and, above all, the system should be amended in one very essential point, if all be true that is said of it. We have been credibly informed that at present these appointments are given almost exclusively to the sons of high officers who, however meritorious, are generally prosperous, and have already in most cases reaped ample rewards for their services, both in honours and emoluments. It is difficult to believe that such appointments are practically denied to the orphan sons of officers who, however deserving, may have been early cut off by death before they could attain to high position. But such is said to be the case ; and it is also alleged that, under the operation of the system of selection now adopted, the boon in question is practically withheld from the sons of medical officers, however meritorious they may be. If these things be indeed so, then surely there never was a more glaring injustice, or a stronger case

of taking from him who hath not, and giving unto him that hath ten talents. Let us suppose the case of an officer of unimpeachable character and high deserts, who dies early, leaving a widow and children. It is said that the widow of such a man need not apply for a Queen's India cadetship for her son, because, forsooth, the boy's father had not attained to high rank with its accompaniments of high pay, honours, and large pension. Thus the very misfortune of the youth, which ought to constitute his strongest claim to consideration, is made the reason for ignoring his claims altogether, while the coveted boon is freely conferred on the sons of prosperous and successful general officers. Similarly it is stated that a surgeon who may have undergone the most arduous war services, and may have performed capital and critical operations on the very field of battle, and amid the hurly-burly of the fight, has no chance of obtaining a Queen's India cadetship for his son—it is said that none such need apply; while the boon is granted without hesitation to the son of a commander-in-chief or of a provincial governor.

If this be indeed the case, it is surely a very gross perversion of the true intention, or what ought to be the true intention, of this beneficial arrangement. We do not say that because an officer has served with honour and success for thirty years, and has attained to the highest prizes of his profession, he should necessarily be debarred from this benefit. Far from it; but we do say that professional success should not be a *sine quâ non* towards its attainment; and that meritorious misfortune should have some claim to it. We do say that the orphan should not be disqualified merely in consequence of his misfortune, and that the sons of good officers, no matter what position such officers may have held, should be admitted to some share in these coveted appointments. Perhaps with a view to doing justice to both classes—the fortunate and the unfortunate—it might be well to increase the number of these appointments, and to divide them into two sections: the one for the sons of eminent and successful officers; the other for

the sons of meritorious officers who may have been debarred, by early death, or other causes beyond their control, from attaining to eminence and success. And if it be true that the claims of medical officers are practically ignored, such an intolerable injustice should be at once rectified.

We cannot leave this part of the subject, namely, the various modes of entering the Indian army, without uplifting our voice against the obduracy of the authorities, in persisting in their wrong-headed refusal to allow in the examinations a fair proportion of marks for physical qualities—to recognise the vast importance of such qualities in candidates for military service, more especially in India, and to assign to them at least a reasonable proportion of the marks awarded.

It is constantly being said that, in consequence of recent electoral reforms, the people of England now really govern the country, and practically manage their own affairs. We think nothing could demonstrate the absurdity of this assertion more completely than the point which we are now considering, and the one which we have just dismissed. If the English people really managed their own affairs, they never would have allowed the free cadetships to be given solely to the prosperous; and they would not longer tolerate the continuance of the more than Chinese absurdity of ignoring physical gifts in the tests for admission to their warlike services. When some future Macaulay shall treat his generation to a graphic picture of the England of to-day, he will encounter no small amount of incredulity when he informs his readers that in the latter part of the nineteenth century, in the selection of officers for the army, no account whatever was taken of physical properties and athletic fitness—always provided that the candidates were free from actual disease; and that admission to the service was attained chiefly by means of a knowledge of dead languages, or of archaic British authors, of roots of words, and of abstract but unpractical mathematics. We question if even the Chinese official hierarchy is selected on principles so pedantic and absurd; or if the Island of Laputa or the Academy

of Lagado could have paralleled its folly. . It is probable that if Swift had lived in the present day, the fifth chapter of Gulliver's Third Voyage would have contained a passage somewhat to the following effect :—

“I had hitherto seen only one side of the Academy, but the warder now carried me to the other wing of it, which is appropriated to the examination of those young men who desire to become officers in the army of Balnibarbi, which process is conducted in a manner scarce imaginable to us in Europe.”

“I noticed that the candidates were in many cases of meagre aspect and puny frame ; but my conductor explained to me, that their philosophers had discovered that bodily strength and good physical constitution were of little account in the military calling ; and that the contrary supposition was one of the prejudices of the vulgar, which hath been long since exploded.

“He proceeded to inform me that they had also discarded from their system, as worthless, all studies which had any practical bearing on the art of war, or indeed which had any real utility in any pursuit whatever, and that it was an attribute of the ignorant to suppose that what the common sort call useful knowledge hath any true worth.

“The officers of the Balnibarbian Army are selected principally for their skill in the languages of Blooknak and Flinfram, two ancient peoples who flourished many ages ago in a remote part of the continent adjoining to Balnibarbi, but which are now extinct, and their languages are, quite dead : a circumstance which renders them peculiarly serviceable in the preparation for all callings, but more particularly for the military one : the great merit of these tongues being that they require for their acquisition many years of profound study, and that, when acquired, they are eminently useless.

“The young men who compete for the army in that kingdom are also chosen to a great extent for their knowledge of antient Laputian writers, because such, being now quite obsolete and nearly unintelligible, are well nigh as useless as the dead authors. And with that people, a great passport to the profession of arms consists in an acquaintance with the most recondite roots of the least useful words in the Laputian tongue.

“I told my conductor that in my country, philosophy not being there advanced so greatly as could be wished, we were so inconsiderate as to chuse out our officers from such youths as possessed bodily strength and fine frames ; and that we thoughtlessly trained them in what we held to be the practical branches of learning. At this he smiled, and evidently formed a very mean opinion of the understanding of my countrymen, observing that such was to be expected in rude peoples ; but that when we were more advanced in philosophy we would correct these errors, with other topics to the same purpose, to which I readily assented.

“I must not conceal from my obliging readers that since I quitted Balnibarbi, I have heard from a great lord of that country with whom I had formed a correspondence, and who hath informed me that shortly

after my visit to the Academy of Lagado, a war broke forth between the Sovereign of Laputa and his ancient enemy the Emperor of Blimdrag, a prince of a poor understanding who hath always been so foolish as to select his officers for warlike fitness, and that the army of Balnibarbi, notwithstanding the more philosophic principles on which its officers are selected, hath sustained a very grievous defeat—a catastrophe which I can by no means account for.”

We yield to none in our admiration of the literature of Greece and Rome—though we are of those who hold that its empire in the educational domain is, to say the least, beginning to totter ; but we do think it is nothing short of extravagant folly to rank it so highly as we do in the preparation for our military services. We regard such things as luxuries rather than as necessities, and it is as absurd to make them principal tests for admission to the army as it would be to select our officers for skill in water-colour painting, or in playing the violin. The unreasonable value which we assign in these examinations to the dead languages is probably the outcome of relying too much on the opinion of pedagogues whose stock in trade and means of livelihood consist mainly of such wares ; or of pedants who over-rate the attainments which they themselves have achieved ; but if the British democracy really does arrange its own affairs, it will not much longer tolerate this exorbitant valuation of classic erudition, and the total exclusion of athletic fitness in the candidates for the defence of the empire.

We are sometimes told that it would give a great deal of trouble to the authorities to introduce any change into their present system ; but to this we would respectfully reply that public servants are paid to take trouble ; and that the public interests were not made for public servants, but public servants were made for the public interest ; and the sooner these authorities apply themselves to the introduction of the necessary change the better. We are also told that it would be difficult to devise tests of physical fitness. To this we would rejoin as above, that government officials are paid not to do only what is easy, but also, if need be, what is difficult. Moreover, we fail to see where the difficulty

would come in, seeing that all our public schools, and nearly all our private ones, annually hold athletic competitions, where the physical qualities of their youths are tested by running, jumping, and gymnastic exercises of various kinds, prizes being awarded to the most expert. We do not see why our government officials should not, if they gave their minds to it, accomplish that which every petty private school in the country does with ease.

Another objection sometimes urged against the bestowal of marks for physical excellence is that such excellence is a mere natural gift which has fallen by chance to its fortunate possessor, and is not the result of any effort of his own, and that it would be "unfair" to allow him to profit by that, to the disadvantage of those whose qualifications are the result of study. But is not the intellectual ability which enables a candidate to achieve proficiency in literature, as much a gift of nature as a fine constitution and an aptitude for athletic sports? Both are alike "talents" in the sense of the parable and both should benefit their possessors. Moreover, physical fitness is, oftener than we commonly imagine, the result of manly conduct and commendable self-restraint on the part of its possessor.

*"Qui studet optatam cursu contingere metam,
Multa tulit fecitque puer, Sudavit et alsit,
Abstinit venere et Vino."*

Assuredly athletic excellence always implies the possession and the exercise of noble qualities: qualities, too, which are especially valuable in the profession of arms.

Finally, we have actually heard it objected to the bestowal of marks for skill in athletics, that it would afford an unfair advantage to the sons of the richer classes, inasmuch as rich men's sons are supposed to enjoy more facilities for acquiring skill in manly sports than the sons of poorer men. Whether this be true or not, we would observe that the same argument would be equally efficacious as against literary excellence: since for the attainment of that also the

sons of rich men—rich is a relative term—must obviously command distinct advantages over the sons of poorer men, and are better able to pay the fees of costly crammers and all the other heavy expenses incidental to an elaborate education ; so that, unless we are prepared to extend gratuitous education to all young men who may wish to enter the army, we must make up our minds to endure a certain amount of what such sentimentalists would, to be strictly logical, stigmatise as unfairness. But the truth is that this world is unfortunately full of such unfairness, and always will be ; capital always has commanded, and always will command, decided advantages in this imperfect planet : and, after all, young men are for the public service, not the service for young men ; and there is no room whatever for sentiment in the matter. The one thing in view is to get the best possible candidates for the army ; and we must not be diverted from this point by any sentimental considerations whatsoever.

We do not indeed advocate the award of any extravagant number of marks for physical qualities : and no excellence in athletics should atone for absolute intellectual deficiency or crass ignorance. We would not admit Hercules himself if he could not spell ; but neither would we pass a Solon if he could not back a horse or clear a jump. It is sad to think what a mass of valuable material we probably annually exclude from our army by the existing absurd regulations : it is appalling to reflect that under our present Chinese mandarin system a Wellington would probably never have been admitted to the army, and Clive most assuredly would have been rejected ! Great glory and copious gratitude will await the member of Parliament who shall adopt this point as his "hardy annual" ; and who shall hammer at it session after session, through good report and evil report, until he compels the authorities to adopt it.

The only other possible source of supplying officers to the Indian army which remains to be noticed is that of exchange from British regiments to Indian ones ; but this is

so little likely ever to be largely operative, that it is scarcely worth regarding as a serious source of supply. At the same time it would be highly undesirable to throw any obstacles in the way of it, or to frame against it any of those foolish cast-iron rules which the Government from time to time, in the plenitude of its sagacity, seems to delight in constructing. A fair exchange is no robbery, and such can never hurt either service. Moreover exchange often serves as a useful means of getting round men out of square holes, and square men out of round ones; and it may often lend itself conveniently to any change which may occur in the circumstances of officers; while if a man is so powerfully attracted to any career as to seek to exchange into it, the presumption is that he is well suited for that career, and will be a valuable acquisition to the service of his new adoption.

When the young officer of the Indian service arrives in India, if the Government is of opinion that he would benefit by doing duty for a time with a British regiment—and we care not at present to consider the advantages or disadvantages of this system—this course can be adopted; but he should always be supernumerary to the establishment of the regiment to which he is temporarily attached, and should be essentially only a “doing duty” officer. His position would then be clearly defined from first to last; none of those objections would attach to it which we have referred to in our description of the existing system; and instead of being regarded askance as a sham comrade, who was merely using his temporary regiment as a stepping-stone to a distinct career, and whose departure would increase the incidence of the regimental duties, he would be welcome during the period of his attachment, if for nothing else, because his presence diminished the incidence of these duties, and, if a good fellow, he would be parted with with regret.

Before closing this paper, it seems desirable to say a word as to the Staff Corps, a term which we believe is a puzzle to many a British parent—and well it may be. The

fact is that the so-called Staff Corps is not a Staff Corps at all. The original conception of it was doubtless good ; but it has long since diverged from the lines of a true Staff Corps. More than thirty years ago Sir Henry Lawrence, writing in the *Calcutta Review*,* said, " There *must* be a Staff Corps " ; and no doubt he was right. Not only does the Indian army, like all others, require a body of officers trained to the discharge of all those duties which, in European armies, are known as staff duties proper ; but also, in view of the multifarious and multiform exigencies of Indian service, and the often sudden and sometimes almost romantic demands which from time to time are made on the talents of Indian officers, it is essential to maintain a considerable number of such officers unattached to regiments, untrammelled by regimental routine duties, and available for employment in a great variety of capacities, and in every conceivable duty, from saving a frontier district, or governing it when saved, to compiling a gazetteer or the grammar of a local dialect.

Accordingly, one of the first things which emerged from the wreckage of the Mutinies was the Indian Staff Corps, or, to speak more accurately, the three Staff Corps for the Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay respectively. Soon, however, for reasons not germane to our present argument, these Corps ceased to be Staff Corps in any true sense, and became, in fact, as they now are, little more than lists containing the names of all the officers of the Indian army, with the exception of a small number who refrained from joining them. It is not necessary here to enter into any account of the rules and conditions governing the position of the officers of these Corps ; all that we now desire to advocate is that the term, or rather the misnomer, Staff Corps should no longer be applied to the Indian service at large ; that the bulk of the officers of that service—including, of course, all those of them who are engaged in

* *Calcutta Review*, 1856.

purely regimental duties—should be re-cast on some rational basis ; and that the residue—those really discharging staff and other non-regimental duties—should be formed into a true Staff Corps.

The question will here probably arise—what duties, other than those of a strictly military staff, should be recognised as suitable for officers of the Staff Corps. It may be asked, why should a military officer govern a district or compile a grammar ? It may be said, districts ought to be governed by members of the civil administrative service, and grammars should be compiled by professors. So it would be in any other country, and so it ought to be in India, if India resembled other countries—but she does not resemble other countries. Our whole position there is a huge anomaly, and if we are going to quarrel with anomalies, the first thing we ought to do would be to retire bag and baggage from the country. No ; we must take things as they are, at least for the present ; and in the meantime one of the first necessities of our system is that it shall possess an elasticity fitting it to adapt itself to all conceivable contingencies. Cast-iron logical rules and rigid symmetrical systems are all very well in old and highly organized communities, but they will not work in India.

From the earliest period of our occupation, it has been found desirable for the Indian Government to take the best man it could find, whoever or whatever he might be, or wherever he was to be found, according as circumstances threw him to the surface. Clive, the merchant's clerk, blossomed out, under the operation of chance events, into Clive the great captain. Henry Lawrence, the Bengal artilleryman, became ruler of the Punjab, and as chief civil commissioner of Oude he received his death-wound. So in instances too numerous to mention. The Indian army contains over two thousand officers, all of them, as we showed in an earlier part of this paper, more or less scholars, linguists, and experts ; and it must be evident that so large a number of men possessing knowledge of Oriental languages and of Oriental

character, and acting often in circumstances of a peculiar and striking nature, is constantly throwing up to the surface individuals of varied accomplishments, and specially well fitted for various and startling contingencies: many round men; many square ones; and many of polygonal formation, men of the stamp which the Germans describe as "*in allen Sätteln gerecht*." This is a material too valuable to be lightly overlooked, and a wise and practical Government does well to utilise it, and has ever done so, in defiance of the cut and dried canons of an older and more crystallised society. To this sagacious system is due the long roll of eminent and many-sided men which the Indian service has produced, to the extreme benefit of the empire; and to this more especially is due that speciality of India, that remarkable product of our position there, the soldier-political and the soldier-administrator of India.

But, it may be argued, and often is argued by superficial thinkers—when you have found in the army officers suited for duties not specially military, why retain them in the army? why not remove them from it altogether, and attach them permanently to the Civil Service? This argument is on the face of it highly specious; so much so that to one not practically acquainted with the working of the system it would be difficult to answer it. Yet the answer is simple enough—simple as Columbus's egg; and it is this: that the Indian Government has on repeated critical occasions found it in the highest degree useful to recall to military work those of its officers whom it had previously employed in civil and miscellaneous duties; and strange to say—*pace* all drill-sergeants and posture-masters of every kind—it has commonly found these officers not only not deteriorated by their civil or other non-regimental experiences, but sharpened and improved by them; and it should ever be remembered that those officers have usually been the pick of the Service as regards natural ability and acquired accomplishments—the cream, in fact, of the entire profession.

In this connection it may be useful to reproduce the fol-

lowing passage from a letter which appeared some time ago in the *London Times* :—

“ Much outcry has been raised in certain quarters against the retention in the Staff Corps of those officers who are engaged in what is known in India as ‘ Civil employ ’ ; but after all there is nothing so very monstrous in this arrangement in a country like India. The Royal Engineers is essentially a Staff Corps ; and in India, during peace, its officers are almost exclusively engaged in Civil duties. At this moment, out of 2324 officers of all ranks in the three Indian Staff Corps, there are only 247, or about ten per cent. of the whole, employed in Civil work. These comprise many who have done hard soldier's work in the field, and all of them are ready and fit for any of those warlike emergencies so liable to occur in India, and in which Indian officers in Civil employ have so often rendered invaluable service—witness Lawrence, Edwardes, Nicholson, Daly, Lake, Hodson, and many more. If Nicholson had not been a soldier he could not have been summoned from his Civil charge to storm the breach at Delhi. Had Lawrence not been a military man, he could not have assumed the command at Lucknow and inspired its heroic defence.

“ As to the alleged depreciation of military rank from its tenure by such officers, I have never met a true soldier acquainted with India who did not smile at the idea ; and it is idle to talk of it in this country, flooded as it is with half-pay field officers, and retired honorary colonels and generals.

“ Lawrence, Lake, Nicholson, Hodson, and many more were no ‘ sham colonels ; ’ and events alone—events ever imminent in India—are needed to develop many such among the officers in Civil employ of the Indian Staff Corps.”

Then, again, let us hear what Sir Henry Lawrence had to say on the subject :—

“ It will be observed that we have thrown the whole Civil as well as Military Staff into the Staff Corps. We have done so deliberately, and after much consideration, as agreeing with Lord Hardinge* that it is useful to have officers qualified for both Civil and Military duties on the strength of the Army. . . . For the next fifty or a hundred years there must be non-regulation provinces and military civilians. Indeed we would always have them, and uncovenanted officers also, were it only for a stimulus to civilians, and a fillip to routine practices. . . . The question is not what is best for this or that individual, but what is best for the Service ; whether in a great calamity—and Government should always be ready for one—the public would place most confidence in soldiers like Broadfoot, Jacob, and Edwardes, or in haphazard seniority commanders. Whoever would have preferred Xenophon to Menon, or Pottinger to Elphinstone, must vote

* Evidence before the Lords.

with us. It is doubtful whether Xenophon was a soldier at all when he was raised to command on the shields of the soldiery.* Herat proved Pottinger to have*been a thorough soldier. . . . Washington was a militiaman and a surveyor, Cromwell a country gentleman. They were all *born* soldiers."

Again, in another place :—

"It is not by three times a day seeing soldiers eat their rations, or horses twice a day their corn ; nor is it even by, year after year, driving fuzes and portfires, or marching round barrack squares, that officers learn to be soldiers, much less to be generals. . . . In short, we altogether deny that the officer who has passed his life in small regimental details, and in performing Dundas's eighteen manœuvres, or anyone else's twenty-eight, is likely to prove a better commander in field or in garrison than the one who, with from five to seven years' practical military education, has early distinguished himself above his fellows, and in later years has been knocking about the country as a quartermaster-general, a surveyor, or a magistrate. . . . Among the highest names in European warfare are those of men who have performed little regimental duty. In the Indian ranks also the Pollocks, the Notts, the Gilberts and the Cheapes of the present day did as little battalion drill as did the Malcolms, the Munros, and the Clives of old."†

No, as before said, we must not be scared by anomalies or frightened by an exaggerated love of symmetry, out of the enjoyment of a system which, however strange it may seem to English eyes, has been found practically valuable in India. Just as analogies are proverbially fruitful of fallacy, so anomalies are sometimes pregnant with sound conclusions ; and as truth frequently lurks in paradox, so anomaly is often but the veil which shrouds a valuable fact. We should remember the teaching of our most philosophical historian, where he tells us that "the habit of estimating systems, not according to their logical coherence, but according to their practical working, is extremely valuable in politics ;"‡ and let us not in a mischievous pedantic spirit destroy a system which, like that now under consideration, however anomalous, has been found to work so well.

* Rollin calls him a young Athenian ; Plutarch says Cyrus gave him a commission.

† "Essays, Military and Political."

‡ Lecky, England, 18th Century.

One word more on the Staff Corps and we dismiss it. The three separate Staff Corps for Bengal, Madras, and Bombay ought to be fused into one for all India. What has been called the watertight compartment system of maintaining three separate presidential armies, may have its advantages as regards the native soldiery, since it tends to prevent the possibility of dangerous combination ; and on the "*divide et impera*" principle it may be valuable. But it has obviously no sort of application to the British officers ; and for numerous reasons it would be desirable to have but one Indian Staff Corps ; possibly under the revived title of the Royal* Staff Corps, the officers of which should be available for employment wherever their services might be required.

We have already alluded to the attractions of an Indian career ; and it is not for a moment to be doubted that if we again make the Indian Service a separate and independent one, those attractions would draw, as indeed they have ever drawn, an ample number of candidates for that Service ; candidates, moreover, of the very best stamp for the purpose ; men ambitious of distinction and success ; and who, not being overburdened with pecuniary resources, or distracted by the temptations of wealth, would regard the Service as a real profession, and would stick to it throughout their lives. Indeed, to men of this stamp, or to men of any stamp, excepting always the scions of the aristocracy, or those who possess a full measure of the advantages and pleasures which wealth commands in England, there is surely no room for comparison between an Indian career, with all its romantic possibilities, and the humi-drum routine of ordinary regimental life in a British battalion of the line.

As every French Soldier was said to carry in his knapsack the bâton of a Field-Marshal, so it may be truly said that every Indian cadet carries in his outfit, along with the most comfortable certainties, possibilities of the most bril-

* It will be in the recollection of the reader that there was formerly a Royal Staff Corps in the British Army.

liant character, including literally the bâton itself;* or even the chief command of the army.† At all times assured of independent means, certain of commanding throughout his life sufficient wealth to enable him to enjoy the more generous sports, to keep horses, to shoot, and to afford other pleasures which in England are within the reach only of the affluent, he also knows that if so disposed he may, with prudence, enter into matrimony—an institution peculiarly well suited to most of the conditions of Indian life—he can afford to keep a wife and bring up a family under the enlightened leave regulations of the present day he can visit England as often as any reasonable man could wish to do so; and when he does visit it, his good pay enables him to live like a gentleman; and in his later years, when he is *donatus jam rude*, he enjoys a pension amply sufficient for his comfortable support.

In the varied fields of diplomacy and of war which India holds out to her servants, and in the constantly occurring opportunities for distinction which she affords, the Indian officer will at all times find ample scope for the display of the noblest qualities, as well as the richest rewards for their display. India is the most prolific field of Victoria Crosses and other coveted decorations. In that service independent command and high responsibility devolve far earlier and far oftener on the young officer than could possibly happen in the British line—witness Edwardes as a subaltern commanding armies, and hurling back the tide of revolt at Suddoosam and Kineyree; witness Cavagnari a K.C.B. and British Resident at Cabul at the age of thirty-eight; witness, lastly, Nicholson falling in the arms of Victory, a general at thirty-seven. The Indian officer, not crushed by superincumbent routine,

* Field-Marshal Sir George Pollock was a Bengal Officer; and Field-Marshal Lord Napier of Magdala, and Sir Patrick Grant, commenced their military careers as simple cadets in that army.

† The late Commander-in-Chief in India (Sir Donald Stewart) was an officer of the Bengal Staff Corps; and the present one (Sir Frederick Roberts) rose in the Bengal Artillery.

or choked by red tape, is early taught to think for himself, and to rely upon himself. The effect of this upon his character is improving in a high degree; and if at times much is exacted from him, his deserts, when conspicuous, never fail to receive their reward.

We cordially hail the candidate for the Indian Army, in the words of Apollo to Ascanius :

“Macte nova virtute puer—sic itur ad astra.”

SCHOLARS ON THE RAMPAGE.

Ein König ist ein König der sich als König zeigt !
 Doch wird er nur ein Slave wenn er sich Schmeichlern neigt
 Drum halte fest das Wahre, verfechte blos das Recht
 Und dann bist Du ein König und wärest du auch ein Knecht.

WHEN Archbishop Sundberg told the King of Sweden, at the beginning of the last Oriental Congress, that it was mere "humbug," the amiable and highly-gifted monarch replied, truly enough, that there was "a little humbug" in most things; on which the outspoken prelate rejoined, "But this is *not* 'little.'" *Se non è vero è ben trovato*, for there never was a gathering to which that derivative from "Hamburg" could be more thoroughly applied. If "work and no play makes Jack a dull boy," "all play and no work" may also convert philologists into fools. For there is a wit in wisdom as it unbends, which the learned men collected at Stockholm managed to miss, when they attempted to be jocular. Witness the following lines, selected from a publication, a perfect gem of the printer's art, to which, in dozens of forgotten languages, the supposed leaders of Oriental Learning laboriously contributed "by order" what they thought to be funny. It is a *menu* heralded by a vulgar-looking Sphinx that bears some resemblance to a well-known official, minus the military moustachios. It consists of twenty-three pages, every one of which is exquisitely bordered. The first appropriately sings the praises of the "Snaps Suédois aux hors d'œuvres," in vulgar Arabic, by Carlo Landberg; and, indeed, nothing more vulgar or offensive to Mohammedans than the use in it of the name of God ("Bismillah") can be conceived. This encouragement to a Swedish custom which is far "more honoured in the breach than the observance,"

especially by followers of the Prophet, receives a damper in some Chinese verses by Professor Schlegel, in which he ironically asks whether the expensive pheasant, swan, camel and dragon-soups of historical China can be compared with Swedish soup, as we sincerely hope they cannot, for nothing more astonishes the British stomach than a soup of sweet almonds, except, perhaps, codfish with jam. Then the veteran Dillmann, President of the smallest Oriental Congress that has been held, pieces his Abyssinian "Gey" together, expecting a boar, but finding "rissoles à la russe." This reminds him of Aschinow's attempt to land in Abyssinia, which wants to serve "neither Russia nor France, neither Rome nor England," but to live freely in its mountains as the Swedes under their King. This poor fun, which we do not suppose for a minute an Abyssinian would understand (for our learned Orientalists have a knack, like Moltke, of being silent in many languages), is followed by some gentlemanly verses in Sanscrit, which would puzzle a Pandit; for who comes here, if not the Pastmaster of popular Philology, Professor Max Müller, in honour of "saumon à l'impériale." "The deity is the fish called Laksha, the metre is Gâyatri, the Rishi is Moksha-mûlara (Max Müller)," (Laksha being the German for salmon "Lachs"). Let us see whether the perusal of this poetry, which cannot be mistaken for prose, as it is in lines, will induce any unregenerate Englishman to take up the study of this sacred language—we mean, of course, Sanscrit, being told so by the writer at the end of the page. One of the aims of the ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW being the promotion of Oriental studies, we feel bound to give "the verses" in full:—

1.

Oh friends, sing forth the praises of that wonderful great fish, whose name is Laksha, and who is beloved by many people !

2.

After he had grown strong in the sea, and had been well preserved in the rivers, he came back to us, a welcome guest.

3.

May that fish (Laksha), who is to be praised by modern poets as well as by those of old, bring hither toward us the goddess of happiness, Lakshmi !

4.

Come together and look at him, how red his flesh, how beautiful his shape, how he shines like silver !

5.

When the fish has been well steeped in a sauce such as emperors love, full of sweetness and delight,

6.

Then indeed we long for him here at this Congress—the lovely one, a joy to look at, meant to be eaten by men and women.

“ Meant to be eaten by men and women ! ” If not the finest poetry, it is indeed prose, and has a true Sanscrit ring about it, as all unacquainted with that language will cheerfully admit. Nothing worthier of the son of the German poet, Wilhelm Müller, can be imagined than when he, bestriding the hillock of Odin at old Upsala, like unto the Colossus of Rhodes (except that, of course, his legs were shorter), handed down, in a speech worthy of the subject, a drinking-horn to successive Presidents of future Congresses of Orientalists and Orientals, out of which they were to drink to the health of King Oscar !

Professor Klinkert then, in Malay, takes the bull literally by the horns, for in introducing “filet de bœuf,” he swears that he never ate such meat. Had it been “rice and curry” he might have sung it in heroic, erotic, or linguistic stanzas, “like a peacock that turns its wheel.” This is a physiological fact well known to poets. Being, however, beef, he wishes the eaters a good appetite. If this be wit, then, indeed, folly is wiser. We must, however, praise Professor Klinkert’s command of what he knows of Malay, whilst his good sense and modesty in avoiding the evidently inappropriate subject that had been set to him cannot be too highly extolled. Qver Nöldeke’s “Suprême de Volaille,” in Syriac, one can only weep, for it combines “cold with heat and

moisture," though not dryness; "rulers of all things according to doctrine and tradition." How are the mighty fallen! and how obviously small is the linguistic, as distinguished from the philological, command of the languages on which European scholars are such authorities! In Hebrew there is another patchwork by Professor Kautzsch on "*Timbale de Gélinoites à l'Orientale*." Juda was happy under his fig-tree. We have no fig-trees, but may be equally happy in a country where every subject has his fowl on Sunday; therefore in eating "woodcock," remember that a "good King" has called us here. What bathos! Then comes "*Paté de foie gras*"—why, only Swedes can tell—with just a suspicion of genuine wit borrowed from the French:—

. *l'oie,*
Qui, en mourant, devient martyr de *son foie,*

chanting, in very fair verse, the alacrity of the geese, apparently in Germany, to be converted into paté; for they all fly to the north in order to gratify "the spirits" of the wise men assembled at Stockholm.

"Denn Indo-Sino-Aegyptolog
Die schätzen die Gänseleber hoch,*
Auch Arab-Altai und Japonist
Der pâté de foie nicht abhold *ist*."

The grammar and rhyme, especially of "log" and "hoch," are quite worthy of one another, and of the genius inspired by "liver."

Professor Vreede then coolly, in his Javanese account of the "*Jeune Coq*," cannot sing, but has a brother who plays the flute; in other words, he gives a receipt for preparing the *Dëndèng* (dry meat), adding to it coriander and cummin.

* Compare the English epitaph:—

"Here lies Snooks,
Went off the hooks.

P.S.—His name wasn't Snooks
but it would not rhyme
with t'other line."

"Si on en veut jouir en vrai gastronome, il faut faire faisander la viande pendant deux à trois semaines . . elle sera alors de la dernière délicatesse." We wish him a good appetite.

Then comes a rather spirited praise in Akkadian, by Professor Sayce, who compares the Garden of Babylon with that of the Swedish King :—

12. The banquet was excellent, the food was rich ;
15. the savour of the meat ascends to heaven ;
16. Yet there is something which is lacking, even the green herb which is watered by heaven,
17. The green herb in the garden of the King.
22. Good is the work of the King's servant ; the food is exceedingly good ;
23. but the Gods themselves provide the salad.

This is not very sparkling, but it compares favourably with the antics of the German Professors, whom English Orientalists provide with facts from their immense Oriental domain ; whom French *savants* inspire with method and suggestions ; but who treat with contempt those who supply the material that enables them, after much labour, tobacco, and beer, to produce the learned camels from the inner depths of their own subjectivity.

After the gambols of buffaloes or bears, one is saddened to see "the mad dance of lambs in the butcher's shop," to which the pleasures of men on earth are compared. Ahmed Midhat Bey, in his own (the Ottoman) language, deals with "agneau au riz à la bédouine," and, in defiance of precedent, does *not* avoid the subject. The lamb is happy to be eaten so aromatically prepared, and men should profit of every joyful moment, till the cruel butcher, Destiny, overtakes them. This is epicurean, both the eater and the eaten are Maya, but the writer conveys his meaning, such as it is, whereas, we doubt whether many of the others have done so when using Oriental philology as a mummy, instead of investing it with the vitality of spoken languages. M. Amélineau seems to allude to this in his Coptic lines on the

artichoke, of which "the good Egyptian cooks had no knowledge" :—

Vous autres, vous n'avez jamais habité le désert,
Vous êtes de grands savants, mais on dit
Qu'avec votre science vous n'en pourriez pas faire autant
(make soup with sand)
Vous autres, vous n'avez jamais habité le désert.

We must contradict this able scholar ; not only have they made ropes of sand, but they have also made a mess, if not soup, of their dry-as-dust philology, because they go to it as artizans, and not as artists, and because the chance that made them scholars could not give them the genius, without which the most practical and suggestive of studies has become a barren pursuit.

Professor Lieblein "gets very well out of it" in his "hieroglyphics" and gives a verse on "Gâteau à la Victoria," which might serve for cakes, pretty women, strong ale, bitter almonds, and, indeed, anything :—

"Hail ! scribes and wise men, who have come from everywhere, by railroad and sea. May you live long, may you be in good health, may your fate be sweet like our cakes."

The last sentence might have been adapted to nearly the whole menu. "May you be as strong as our brandy," "may you ever be moist as even our soup is," and so on. In Hymyaritic, Professor D. Müller imitates Lieblein's wisdom, and just shoves in a word on "ice" in what purports to be an eulogy on "ices," but is really a somewhat anachronistic thanksgiving to St. Erik for having safely arrived in Sweden, where, among other irrelevant blessings, he favoured them with the pleasantness of an Ice or Snowberg (this the author calls "doppelsinnig," though we might find a shorter word for his production).

The acme of bad taste is reached in the following lines by Professor H. Almkvist, in Bichari and Arabic. The subject is "Fromages assortis," of which there is impudently printed the following French version :—

“ Le fromage ressemble à la femme et non à la rose :
 Le goût en est bon, mais mauvaise est l'odeur—
 Le fromage ressemble à la rose et non à la femme :
 Il pique son homme, mais n'en blesse pas le cœur.”

This outrage on decency is worthy of the vulgarity which characterised every proceeding connected with the late International Congress of Orientalists. Dr. Inouyé then lauds “le Dessert international” in classical, if frigid, Japanese. Professor Vambéry gives in Djagatai an interesting account of fruit in “Chahrezm,” where he travelled, as “fruits divers.” De Goeje praises Champagne in classical Arabic, and furnishes by far the best production in a compilation which is altogether unworthy of the Congress and of the wit or wisdom of its writers. Haupt tackles “Le vin de Bordeaux” in what would have been a masterly caricature of “a fragment de l'épopée babylonienne de Nimrod,” had several ponderous German satires not made us acquainted with this striking, if easy, manner of ridiculing modern follies in ancient language. At last relief comes, and Habib of Ispahan thanks the assembly for the meal in modern Persian, and in the usual style of Oriental praise (including some special references to the meeting) with which residents in the East are rendered familiar by candidates for employment. Still, from Dr. Inouyé onwards to the end, there is nothing inferior to what is constantly produced at convivial meetings of undergraduates at any University.

In this Babel of tongues there was nothing suited to the occasion. Hosts and guests, King and country, the aims of the Congress, its special feature of Orientalists fraternising with Orientals were alike forgotten on the common ground of gorging. Yet this “one touch of (Northern) nature did *not* make the whole world kin,” for one high-caste Brahmin and another Indian turned away with disgust from a scene at Landberg's soirée, in which pseudo-Oriental dances insulted, in their opinion, the amusements of Orientals; whilst several German professors fled when long-legged Swedish ballet-girls caricatured, in the contortions of the

French stage, the Egyptian Almées. Nor were the servants of the Grand Hôtel at Stockholm, dressed up in the fancy costumes of pantomime Circassians, more successful in giving an Oriental colouring to the Swedish Bacchanalia. Possibly, only Snaps may stir the Scandinavian soul, but the sons of the sunnier South do not require such stimulants. At Upsala, some students sought to seduce several Mohammedan dignitaries, and plaintively suggested Claret when Snaps was refused ; but even the blandishments of the fairest ladies at this old seat of learning, or at the Gothenburg banquet, failed to shake the sobriety of even the lower-born Mussulmans. Aye, the very drink of the Gods, the mead offered on the tumulus of Odin, was rejected by the less enthusiastic members. They were glad that Odin was dead, if he ever lived, and thought he might be forgotten at an Oriental Congress held at the end of the nineteenth century, in a practical and scientific age. They were also wise, for the mead, made of honey and some other stuff, heated in the sun and handed round in huge horns, had an evidently depressing effect on what was meant to be a joyful occasion, considering the cheers of undergraduate crowds. It was not merely the solemnity of the gathering that made the faces look more and more serious, as the speeches proceeded. Even Max Müller looked sad. Some dispersed in the neighbourhood which abounds in antiquities. There exists at Old Upsala a Christian Church, built on the ruins of a heathen temple. It attracted deserved attention, and led to the only discovery made by the Congress. Professor Leland, who had already recommended the study of Pigeon-English as a solution of philological puzzles to a learned Section, which discussed and dismissed his view *au grand sérieux*, proved to some half-convinced *savants* how that Odin, who had so long fed on travellers, was at last sacrificed in this very spot by himself to himself, when he took the disguise of a traveller, in order to test the fidelity of his retainers. As he hung on a tree for three days, tossed in the wind, he extolled their devotion to duty in verses the authenticity of which has never been seriously denied.

What was the cause of all this degradation of the learned and of learning? We do not ask those members for a reply who successfully hunted after decorations, or who were the guests of the King (that is to say he paid their hotel bills and sent some of his servants to attend on them). Nor do we enquire from those to whom unlimited champagne was a welcome novelty, or who took off their hats to an empty royal carriage, believing it to be occupied. We will not even trouble the tourists who wisely took advantage of the opportunity of receiving the value of their subscription of membership in a single day's Walhalla carousing, 16s. for all non-Scandinavians, the descendants of the Vikings being, in the practical spirit of an entrepreneur's "personally conducted party" (say in Egypt or the Holy Land), charged double, besides extra payments for certain banquets. For the Swedes are a most hospitable race and encourage the timid guest by their own example of freely partaking of what they so generously offer: As modest appetisers to their numerous substantial meals, they have a little "foretaste" or "tasting board" which groans under a host of delicacies, airy, spiritual and substantial, and to which ample justice is done before proceeding to the regular meal of from four or five to any number of courses. Formerly, even at hotels nothing was charged for these "appetisers," till some tourists abused the privilege by feasting on them enough to last a gentleman for 24 hours and then ordering, say, a plateful of soup, cost 3 pence. Still the Swedes require much food in order to keep up their splendid physique, of which Stockholm has the special secret of producing very fine specimens, including women of the structure of sergeant-majors. They have, we believe, only five meals a day, lasting the brief space of two hours each. This still leaves 14 hours daily to be employed, and had they been allowed to entertain the Orientalists in their own houses, as was the custom at other Congresses, here and elsewhere, no doubt that an excuse for additional meals might have been found. They will never forgive the organizer of the last Oriental

Congress for having baulked their hospitable bent by sending the Orientalists to hotels where the charges were conceived on a scale more than worthy of the occasion.

Perhaps also had the strangers been quartered on the natives, a more correct appreciation might have earlier prevailed as to the position and aims of the administrator of the Congress. To him and to him alone is due all that offended the sober men of learning, the men with a shadow of self-respect, the men who came to work and not to play. It was his influence that caused the sorry exhibition, in the *menu* to which we have alluded, and in which, perhaps, every contributor, if left entirely to himself, could have produced a literary gem, that would have justified his reputation. Even the toasts and speeches were titubant where they were not formal or adulatory. "Ego et rex meus" was the key to everything he did or prevented; though there were occasions, as when he addressed the free men of the North as "my Norwegians," when only the "Ego" was predominant, or when he, with singular bad taste, seemed to complain of ingratitude to, or dissatisfaction with, himself, at the farewell banquet given by the City of Gothenburg. "No," as a leading Muhammedan then said, "to the King and to the people we are for ever grateful, but we did not know that we should be so to him." Did he really pay the train from Stockholm to Christiania or the one from Christiania to Gothenburg that carried the learned passengers through the dead of night in postures that made them envy the full length of the occupants of a box of sardines? Or did he really contribute to any banquet, say that of Christiania, which is said to have cost £1,600 for 400 members, or to the one at Gothenburg; or, indeed, to any entertainment except the one he gave himself of Swedish Almées and Hôtel Circassians? Even if he did, nothing could have justified the arrogance by which, on his own sole authority, he excluded men like the Rev. Dr. Tien or the Oriental novelist Mr. Verner von Heydenstam from the Congress, of which his own valet wore the rosette of membership. Were he ten times the

excellent linguist he is (he speaks Italian to perfection, French *grasseyé* like a tambour-major and Arabic like the best of Dragomans), he ought to have sat at the feet of the philologists from all countries who, if they cannot speak the languages with the fluency of couriers, know their history and life. Of course, there should be a compromise between philologists and linguists, the former becoming more of the latter and the latter more of the former. Of course also, he struck the true note, when in rebellion both to the Oriental tourist and the Oriental Professor, he urged a residence and serious studies in the East as the very basis of a correct and, above all, a sympathetic knowledge of Eastern races and creeds. But sympathy, like charity, begins at home; and there he had none, or only among his parasites. Had he practised the modesty he preached, his proposals for giving a new direction to future Oriental Congresses might have received a better reception.

For the same reason, the obtrusion of an arrogant personality into everything, the minor details of the Congress were maladministered. It was not true, as the Programme stated, that the Grand Hotel at Stockholm could accommodate all the members. There was favouritism in the allotment of rooms, as there was in the better or worse accommodation in trains, in the invitations, in having to do everything for oneself or having it done for one, in the more or less off-hand treatment at the Stockholm Congress Secretariat, in the presentation to the King of the works of Orientalists, which the programme actually *suggested*, and which, without the previous consent of the donors, were divided among various universities. The programme had to be gone through, and this was done autocratically, if not brutally. Whatever escaped the royal eye,—his ear has since caught some sounds of discontent,—was not nearly so well done as at Leyden or Florence or London, not to speak of Paris, the original home of the Oriental Congresses. Dispersed in various hotels or private lodgings, many could not meet those whom they specially wished to see among

their fellow-workers ; there was not *one* room, provided with newspapers and writing material, where all would drop in, see friends, get letters or reply to them. All was hurry and confusion. Many of the minor publications presented to the Congress vanished. Information, except by a lady clerk, was given in a surly way by inexperienced youths, taking their cue from the manner of the boss. The daily bulletins did not contain brief summaries of the papers read and of the discussion elicited, as at St. Petersburg and other Congresses ; some did not appear at all. Names of members were entered wrongly, as Ollendorff for Oldenberg, Hayden for Hazdeu, &c., showing an utter ignorance by the compilers of the existence of these scholars. In the "communications inscrites" some papers are entered under the wrong section ; some were "inscribed" that were not entered ; and so on. All was hurry and confusion where it was not empty show. A story may be told which is characteristic of the spirit that reigned supreme. The great scholar, Brugsch Pasha, was impertinently asked why he had not brought his uniform as an Egyptian Pasha and was peremptorily requested to send for it from Berlin ; when he quietly and wittily replied that he would leave at once for that capital, and send instead his uniform to the Congress. Once or twice a day one had to rush home in order to put on "*tenue de cérémonie*." To see philosophers in broad daylight in evening dress with decorations must, indeed, have been a sight for the Scandinavian Gods ; but their nostrils must have heaved with even greater delight at seeing them run, in that costume, to railway stations, to be packed worse than herrings (except the favoured ones) or to the crowded bars and fight their way to sandwiches, relieved by sweets, and washed down with irregular potations of whatever came to hand—beer, brandy, claret, champagne. The veriest savages would have shown more self-restraint, but it may be said in excuse for our Orientalists, that they rarely enjoyed a quiet or regular breakfast or dinner. Several of them are still suffering from the effects of the northern debauch.

Yet in spite of the attractions to which we have alluded, the late Congress was not even a success as regards the number of members whom it captured. At the first Congress held in Paris in 1873, there were 1064 members from all countries, including 10 crowned heads. At Stockholm, H.M. the King of Sweden and Norway, Oscar II., was the Protector and President, and four royal personages, including the enlightened Gaikowar of Baroda, were "honorary members." Yet Professor Weber claims that the 713 members who joined the Swedish Congress (many of whom were tourists) were the highest number ever reached by any Congress. Again, whereas Paris only cost 27,290 francs, or about £1084, out of which 18,588 francs were spent on publications, the Scandinavian festivities are said to have cost £50,000 (the details of which should certainly be asked for by the Swedish Parliaments) out of which we should not be surprised to hear that there is not £1,000 or even £500 for publishing the papers that were read or not read at the Congress. What a gift even £5,000 in prizes would have been to struggling Oriental learning! The Programme, drafted in the bombastic language of shop-keepers that advertise their wares, announced :—

"Auprès des tombeaux d'Odin, de Thor et de Frey, l'on donnera à boire l'hydromel des Dieux, selon la coutume encore usitée à cet endroit si riche en souvenirs. Il y sera solennellement remis au Congrès, au nom de S.M. le Roi, un objet pour perpétuer parmi les Orientalistes présents le souvenir de ce Congrès."

All was expectation; some thought that, as customary, a commemorative medal was meant, and, indeed, the mould of one was on the Secrétariat table; others may have fondly imagined that the Wasa order, which even actors cannot escape in Sweden, would be thrown broadcast; a few dreamt of an endowment for Oriental research; but the huge Swedish mountain in labour brought forth the tiniest mouse, in the shape of a, happily, *very small* enamelled drinking-horn to be drained by future generations of Orientalists, we hope not Orientals. Who advised the King to do this? The

Committee of Organisation of the Swedish Congress desired

“que les Orientalistes du monde entier vinssent se grouper à cette occasion autour de l'Auguste Monarque du Nord, qui, savant lui-même, considère comme une gloire et un devoir de protéger la science qui nous apprend à déchiffrer les plus anciennes annales de l'humanité.”

Did they devise this memento in anticipation of its being typical of what was mainly to take place?

Those, too, who were dragged at dead of night through the prettiest scenery of Sweden or Norway in densely packed railway carriages, in order to be at a certain reception hundreds of miles away by a certain date, even when roused at two o'clock in the morning in order to partake of a supper at a railway station; those who had to carry their own luggage from the stations to hotels, whilst the favourites had to look after nothing; those who laboriously found a museum or other institution which they were anxious to see, will now appreciate the full value of the following glowing promise of the Programme:—

“Le Comité d'organisation fera tous ses efforts pour rendre le séjour de la Suède et de la Norvège agréable aux savants qui se rendront au Congrès. L'hospitalité patriarcale de ces deux pays, la sincère cordialité de ses habitants, qui de tout temps ont tenu à honorer les savants, sont la meilleure garantie d'une excellente réception. On aura, en outre, une occasion unique de voir les plus belles parties de nos pays.”

Let us now turn to the *work* that was actually done in the intervals of dissipation. The wild banquets and wild chases, so typical of Scandinavian mythology, were, it is true, interrupted by wild papers, poems and panegyrics grunted or sung in various Oriental languages. One Arab especially delighted the ears of those who attach importance to the pronunciation of the letter “a'in” by articulating it in various stages that threatened his suffocation. Still the Orientals *did* give valuable papers. The Parsi in a few minutes dispersed a century of German misconception on the subject, and the Brahmin brought a fact to notice that deserved a more courteous treatment than the untrue remark that it was

only an instance of the fabrications usual to Brahmins. The learned Mohammedans refuted those who "prefer vulgar to Classical Arabic," or dispelled our delusions regarding "the rights of women under Islam." Bühler, backed by Burgess, gave an interesting rendering of an Asoka inscription; Goldziher made a valuable contribution to the earliest history of Mohammedan tradition (Hadis), though we do not think that he rendered justice to the safeguards for its truthfulness. Whether Abdallah Fikri Pasha's account of the Cairene Mosque and University was ever given, we cannot at present say. One never knew what was coming on, and even the Bulletins had to admit a "lamentable error" in the practical suppression of a learned sitting, or in the exclusion "aus unbekannten Gründen" of Glaser's Sabæan discoveries. When the King came to listen to the papers, he, fortunately, heard Oppert on the condition of astronomical knowledge among the Chaldeans, Ginsburg on his Masoretic text, and Halévy's account of Palestine before the Exodus. There is no doubt that if the papers sent, or to be sent, by those who did *not* attend the meetings are printed (supposing that they are all found) and if the communications that were read, or attempted to be read, are amplified by their authors, the late Congress may make a respectable show in its *ex post facto* "Transactions"; but the most careful editing and any amount of contributions, subsequent to the Congress, will not render its literary achievements equal to those of its predecessors. The suggestions for the maintenance of the Archæological Survey in India by Burgess, or for a linguistic survey of the N.W. frontier of India by Kuhn, although the latter ignores what the Government of India has done in that direction, have some value, though they are, practically, repetitions of resolutions of previous Congresses. Brugsch Pasha, of course, was great on his Egyptian discoveries and the Exodus. Leitner delivered an address in the Turkish language on Mohammedanism, which evoked warm expressions of sympathy from the Mohammedan members. Amirchan-

yantz dispelled Cust's belief in a real variety of Turki languages as distinguished from its Osmanli form ; and Schlegel, of course, was *facile princeps* in his quaint discoveries regarding the legends of the aquatic and the vegetable sheep, in untrodden parts of Chinese literature. Amélineau on Coptic poetry, Karlowitz on the system and method in mythology, Hunfalvy on the Gipsies, Goeje on the author of the *Navigatio* creating St. Brandain out of Sindbad, Tsagarelli on the Georgian manuscripts discovered by him in the convents of Mount Sinai and Athos, Lith on the "Marvels of India," so truthfully recorded by the Arab sailors, Maspero (who was not present) on the inscriptions of Wady Hamámat, Hildebrand on the ruins of Palmyra, and even Stolpe on the development of ornamentation among the races of Oceania and the commencements of writing, merit attention. Still the brains of many listeners were too fuddled, or too wearied, to be able to bear the strain of thorough discussion, and the remarks of authors were almost invariably cut short by an order to go to this or that amusement or reception.

Among them may be mentioned swimming matches of innocent young men and maids ; a representation of "Aida," at the Opera (not very Egyptian) ; a soirée at the royal palace, where soldiers guarded the steps who had been got up to resemble immovable wax figures, and where the loud strains of military music induced an Anglo-Indian to make the irreverent remark of "Chota Raja, bara baja." Nothing could exceed the courtesy of the King, who moved among the guests as a genial host. When people, however, speak of his "condescension" to the learned men who came to Sweden to do him honour, they forget that most continental rulers are distinguished by kindness and simplicity of manner. It is not, in any way, detracting from the graciousness of King Oscar to say that it does not exceed the truthful friendliness of the King of Denmark, the honest simplicity of the much-stricken Emperor of Austria, the loving self-effacement of the ever-lamented "Crown Prince Frederick" of

Germany, and of other monarchs that might be named. Indeed, true royalty is ever simple, and the descendant of Bernadotte may be congratulated on "looking every inch a King"; but we have yet to learn that a monarch, himself a poet and a leader of men, is "condescending" when he receives learned men in his house, or when he seeks to improve his mind in conversation with them. Not so thought the Rajahs of old, for the Kshatrya Chief stands with folded hands before the true Brahmin, who, unlike his German most modern representative, seeks neither titles nor power, but shows the superiority of his caste by the superiority of his abstinence. King Oscar, we are sure, felt, and rightly felt, himself honoured in the midst of Orientalists. His love for their learning was first inspired by a tour in the Levant; it has kindled into genuine enthusiasm, if not accurate knowledge, since; and if he gets rid of a favorite who can touch nothing that he will not mar, he may yet claim the leadership in the promotion or resurrection of Oriental learning. Few who have heard him can forget the ring of his sonorous voice when he bade the Congress "good bye" in a speech of excellent Latin, and when the effect was spoilt by Landberg and others as usual making speeches *after* the King had done and, in this instance, had told the Congress to go.

Alas! that "the fly in the ointment" also frustrated the fulfilment of the following phrase in the Poet-King's welcoming address at the opening of the Congress:—

"Prêtez l'oreille aux murmures mystiques de nos immenses forêts, aux douces harmonies des vagues qui caressent nos rivages; contemplez la vierge beauté de nos vallées, la majesté de nos Alpes, les sombres profondeurs de nos fjords, et, en nous quittant, vous remporterez, je l'espère, un souffle de poésie et de fraîcheur. Aujourd'hui, je vous souhaite la bienvenue et, en formant le vœu que vos travaux soient couronnés de succès."

Let us drop a veil over the eloquent adulation of one Italian Count by another. Sycophancy was in the air, and the simplest were affected by it. Indeed, under the circumstances, the few remarks made by the representative of the

French Government, M. Schefer, when handing a present of books to the King, was characterised by republican dignity, and Baron Kremer also spoke on behalf of the Government of Austria with sense and sobriety.

It was at last in Norway that the storm that had so long gathered broke in fury which is still growing. The Swedes are the French of the North ; they are a light-hearted people ; their journals are mainly made up of cuttings from the foreign Press ; their novels and plays are translations ; their museums, with few exceptions, poor ; and they have plenty of time on their hands. Thus everything that can enliven its monotony is eagerly grasped. A guest is overwhelmed with kindness, and every parting friend is waved away among the flutter of handkerchiefs. Those who have been at the Archæological and other Congresses in Sweden, say that it did not require the royal initiative to induce the Swedes to get up early or late in order to see the illustrious strangers as they stopped en route at railway stations, to bestow flowers on them, and to illuminate their houses for miles on the picturesque Mälär lake, as the little steamers that conveyed the Congressists back from the King's Palace passed its innumerable islands, under tumultuous acclamations and in every variety of white and coloured light, that made the scene one of unsurpassable beauty. There shone also in dazzling radiance the Eiffel Tower, an obelisk, the Lion of Persia, and other devices. The Norwegians are different. Their modern literature is indigenous, and gives lessons to Europe, even in the doubtful form of Ibsen's plays. The people work harder and are more simple in manner. They, too, gave the Congress a splendid reception, and the illumination of the fiords at Christiania, on which nature has bestowed so much, rivalled that of the Mälär lake. The excursion to Hønefos nearly equalled that to the Falls at Trollhättan, but the liquor was not quite so varied and the receptions not so formal. Besides, the Norwegians are jealous of Swedish interference, and if Landberg *more suo* played the master, as he, indeed, in the presence of many people,

said he was, and if he otherwise behaved in a manner that the King is said to have asked him to avoid, he did not find his Norwegians equally submissive or phlegmatic. His proposals at the last sitting of delegates were rejected, and there occurred a scene which deserves to be recorded.

According to the Statutes adopted by an International Assembly of the Congress first held in Paris in 1873, every Congress has to name the place of its next meeting, and has to form a committee to organize the next Congress selected from the Delegates of the various countries that are represented. Now, so goes the story, when the General Secretary, Landberg, read out the names of the members of that committee, it was found to include representatives from every country *excepting France*, the creator of these Congresses. When this was pointed out by Professor Oppert of the French Institut, Landberg professed that the French Congress was a local and not an *international* one (the fact being that the national French Oriental Congresses had been founded by Baron Textor de Ravisy, and that de Rosny, de Montjau, and Le Vallois created the international element, which commenced the present series of Oriental Congresses). This was controverted, and an excuse for omitting France was found in the circumstance that the work of drafting the proposals "had to be done at night." After this, Professor A. Weber, who, in spite of apparent roughness, is a diplomatist, repeated what he had already once said at Leyden: that many good things (among others, these Congresses) had come from France; and then he proceeded, *mirabile dictu*, not to *add* a French representative to the existing list, but to propose a sort of "Senioren-Convent" composed of the three Presidents of the three preceding Congresses, and the Secretary of the present one, thus *excluding* members of *all* countries, except Germany, Austria, Holland, and Sweden. So inferior is a crowd, even when composed of *savants*, to a single intelligent individual in that crowd, that the proposal of Weber seemed to be an improvement on the proposal of

Landberg; and it was only after the delegates and members had gone home that they discovered that the modification was very much for the worse. Then Landberg suggested an Institute to be formed of future Congresses (with, it is now said, King Oscar II. as President, and himself as Secretary, to be composed of 40 members on the plan of the "immortals" of the French Academy—the Statutes to be drawn up by him (those of Paris to be modified), and Professor Max Müller to draft rules as regards the admission of members). The proposals were rejected, some say by three-fourths, others by two-thirds of those present. A newspaper editor, however, had them a few days after "as passed," and professed to have this information on Count Landberg's own dictation. At any rate, steps have since been taken as if the proposals had been carried; and as these proposals conflict with the equality and simplicity of the Paris rules, a movement has been set on foot which explains itself in the documents that its promoters have issued, and that are appended to this article.

It has been asserted, not on the worst authority, that the object of the organizing committee, composed of Messrs. Dillmann, Kremer,* Kuenen, and Landberg, is to eliminate the French origin of these Congresses. As the origin is an undoubted fact we do not see how the elimination is to be effected. No doubt the Paris Statutes, which have hitherto been followed, might be modified to suit a new state of things, but such a state has not yet arrived, or, if it has, the modification can only be made at an international assembly, similar to the one which adopted them, convened in a regular manner. It was not for drunken Helots to change the laws of Sparta without discussion at a meeting, say, after a plentiful repast and before going to bed. Nor should the sober Orientalists, who did not even agree as to the place of the next meeting, decide on any modification of the Statutes of their Congresses, either in a scratch, or a packed Committee of Organization. The fact is that Land-

* Since, unfortunately, dead.

berg, who was the maker, was also the marrer of the last Congress. *Non omnia possumus omnes*; and those who attempt it must fail, even were they possessed of the greatest suavity of manner and the highest organizing ability. Disunion was spread by his arrogant conduct, and those who came to pray remained to curse. A duel was only averted, it is said, by a decoration. A delegate left because he deemed himself slighted; another was threatened with prosecution at the instance of the Ministry of Foreign affairs; invidious distinctions were made not only among members, but also among delegates; and, above all, the arrangements were so bad as to give no time for reflection. What wonder then that the place of the next Congress is not yet settled? It is stated that Landberg wishes it to take place at Cairo, where he is Swedish Consul, or in Constantinople, but as in either case he would have much to do with it, there is a natural reluctance to return to the rule of one whose tone is far better suited to donkey-drivers than to scholars. Besides, neither Egypt nor Turkey can afford to emulate the prodigality of Sweden, though they would certainly try to do so. Indeed, the lavishness of the last Congress has almost made it impossible for any small country to invite the Orientalists, although we do not see why Denmark, with its infinitely superior museums, Belgium, the home of leading Congresses, and, above all, Switzerland with its proximity to most of the countries of Europe and its inability to give decorations, should hesitate for a moment, owing to the bad example given *in* Sweden rather than *by* Sweden, from welcoming, when their respective turn arrives, the Orientalists in the simple manner that alone is suited to scholars. Finally there is a great objection to countries which, although Oriental, are distant from the centres of Oriental research. These centres are Paris, London, Berlin, Vienna, and St. Petersburg.

The round has, therefore, to recommence with Paris. The majority, however, of the French members desire to go to London, and an invitation, therefore, has been issued to them and others in the Declaration.

The contemplated change in the character of the Oriental Congresses from private to official gatherings of scholars will also be unquestionably resisted. It is true that government subsidies were received at St. Petersburg, Vienna, and, it is said, Stockholm ; but from official help to science there is a long step to the deplorable officialising of Oriental learning that is now being attempted. Nor is the ridiculous example of a philanthropic society to be imitated, which gives a diploma to every subscriber.

Even the framing of rules for the admission of members is objectionable. Offer no improper attractions and you will have no improper members. If Stockholm was a failure in this respect, the reason has already been given. Hitherto no inconvenience has been felt in allowing any person to become a member of an Oriental Congress by merely paying the subscription (which should be the same for natives and foreigners). The mere fact of the speciality of the subjects to be discussed was sufficient hitherto to prevent the accession of any but Orientalists or persons, who are quite as necessary for the promotion of unremunerative studies, viz., those interested in Oriental literature.

Omit banquets, royal invitations, free railway tours, and decorations ; and the apocryphal story of a *demi-mondaine* seated next to a Princess with her Monsieur, although not uncommon in Hôtels, is not likely to be repeated. Stint drink, and two learned Professors will not combine with two tourists to carry round the carousing hall a speaker, on the pretext of doing him honour, but, in reality, as previously announced by them, to stop his exuberance and to render him ridiculous. This occurred at the final scene of this wretched Congress, at the Gothenburg banquet, and is alone, in our opinion, sufficient to show the true character of that Congress, as also the spirit that possessed many of those who took part in its proceedings.

Far be it from us to hold the Swedes or Norwegians responsible for Count Landberg. It will appear from his biography as published in nearly all the Scandinavian news-

papers, that he is as little a Swede in education as he is in appearance. The northern press has certainly not been friendly to him after the nature of the Congress became known. At first it was welcomed, but already on the 5th September, 1889, or five days after its opening, an ominous article appeared in the *Figaro*, which in spite of its comic element, was felt to be true. It was, however, on the 12th or the day after the conclusion of the Congress, that the storm broke out which continues to rage in the Norwegian, Danish, and Swedish journals. In Germany, although "A. W." tried to praise it and to insult the Orientals in the *National-Zeitung* of the 29th September, he let the cat out of the bag as to what was contemplated by the conspirators, and roused the alarm that has now resulted in already arraying against any change in the Paris Statutes, and in favour of London as the next place of meeting, over 100 of the most eminent scholars in England, France, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland, Portugal, Belgium, Sweden, Russia, etc. A far weightier man than "A. W.," whom it would be affectation to deny is Prof. Albrecht Weber, has sent a report to the *Vossische Zeitung* from Copenhagen, which we shall reproduce in an English translation, in an article on "The Next Oriental Congress, an Appeal from Alexander drunk to Alexander sober." The condemnation of the Congress in the columns of the *Times*, the *Athenæum*, and *The Academy*, not to speak of its ironical treatment by the *Daily Telegraph*; the discontent of the French Members, to which the *Temps* gave utterance; the indignation which the *Englishman* and the *Bombay Gazette* have expressed in India are as nothing compared to what the Scandinavians say of their compatriot. He has not contradicted their statements, but he can surely not expect to be welcomed in learned or other circles, even if he continues to represent his country abroad, unless he disproves them. In any case, his services to Oriental learning, limited to a praiseworthy collection of modern Arab proverbs and *hoc genus* of work, do not seem to entitle him to a leading position among *savants*, such as

the mistaken favour of a King had allowed him temporarily to usurp, even were he not to behave like an offensive *parvenu* intoxicated by wealth and the titles which it can purchase. He has created a split in the Oriental Camp which may either destroy its international character and pave the way for National Oriental Congresses, similar to the annual meetings of the British Association, or which, in the struggle that is now going on, will consolidate the international character of the Congress by the process of its regeneration in France and England.

We trust that those of our readers who are interested in Oriental matters, as all Englishmen naturally are, will read the following documents with the attention that they deserve. We have left them in their native French just as we shall leave the praise of Landberg and of the Congress in its native German, for certainly "Deutschland" was "über Alles" in the Scandinavian Congress, where more German was spoken—and certainly listened to—than any other language, and where the Norwegian President declared it to be "*the language of Science*," instead of *one* of the languages, for, as the *Englishman* has it, Oriental learning can dispense as little with the experience of Englishmen and the genius of Frenchmen as it can with the laboriousness of Germans. Similarly, we shall leave the *Temps* untranslated, whilst of Scandinavian papers we have the translation by Swedes into either English or German. The storm is not one in a teacup, and he who can read between the lines may perceive whether and how far the change in the constitution of the Oriental Congress subserves the private and political aim of one or more persons, and whether this aim is compatible with the welfare of Eastern countries.

THE APPEAL OF ORIENTALISTS.

À Messieurs les Membres de droit du Comité Fondateur des Congrès Internationaux des Orientalistes, (M.M. L. de Rosny, E. Madiet de Montjau et Le Vallois), et à Messieurs les Membres du Premier Congrès tenu à Paris en 1873.

MESSIEURS,

En notre qualité de délégués au premier Congrès et de Membres de

tous les Congrès qui ont eu lieu depuis 1873, nous avons l'honneur de porter à votre connaissance qu'au dernier Congrès de Stockholm-Christiania un Comité d'organisation pour le prochain Congrès a été élu, qui n'est pas "le Comité central d'organisation du précédent Congrès" selon Art. 2 et 3 de nos "Statuts définitifs adoptés par l'assemblée internationale." [Paris, 1873.] D'ailleurs ce Comité n'a pas choisi le "pays pour la réunion prochaine" selon le même article et le dernier Congrès aussi, à la fin de sa session, n'a pas "désigné le lieu où devra se tenir la session suivante," selon Art. 3 des mêmes Statuts. En outre les Membres de droit du premier Congrès (Messrs. de Montjau et Le Vallois) n'ont pas été Membres de droit du dernier Congrès selon Art. 15.

Le Comité actuel a été nommé contrairement à Art. 18 des dits Statuts puisqu'il n'est pas formé du Comité Central selon Art. 2 et de délégués nommés par les Membres de chaque nationalité représentée au Congrès et résidant au lieu où a été tenue la session. Ce Comité ne comprend que les Présidents des Congrès de Berlin, Vienne, et Leyde ; il ne comprend même pas le Président, M. Ehrenheim, du dernier Congrès, mais seulement son Secrétaire-général, M. Landberg. La France, l'Angleterre, la Russie, l'Italie et d'autres pays n'y sont pas représentés, mais il paraît que les Membres du Comité actuel peuvent choisir individuellement, s'ils le veulent, "par cooptation" un Membre appartenant aux quatre pays sus-mentionnés.

Enfin, ce Comité aussi a la mission de modifier les Statuts de Paris quoiqu'aucune demande en modification des dits Statuts n'ait été signée par au moins la moitié des Membres du dernier Congrès selon Art. 19 et ce projet de modification n'a pas été pris en considération par la majorité absolue des Membres du Congrès selon Art. 20, et ne leur a pas même été communiqué.

Le Congrès de Stockholm-Christiania a eu deux classes, l'une composée des hôtes de Sa Majesté le Roi de Suède et de M. Landberg et quelques autres qui ont eu des privilèges en chemins de fer, &c., et l'autre qui a compris le reste des Membres. Le caractère du Congrès a été officiel au lieu d'être une réunion privée des savants intéressés dans les mêmes spécialités.

C'est ce caractère officiel que le Comité actuel se charge d'imprimer sur tout les Congrès futurs et dans ce but d'en fonder un Institut avec S.M. le Roi de Suède comme Président et M. Landberg comme Secrétaire. L'Institut aura 40 Membres dont un est déjà chargé de rédiger des règlements quant à l'éligibilité des Membres des futurs Congrès.*

* Jusqu'à présent toutes les personnes ont fait partie des Congrès qui en avaient fait la demande et acquitté la cotisation. (Art. 4 des Statuts de Paris.) Cette libre admission n'a pas eu d'inconvénients, excepté peut-être en Suède où la cotisation était inégale pour les étrangers et les Suédois et où le grand nombre des festins est censé d'avoir attiré l'élément touriste. Mais même avec cette attraction le dernier Congrès n'a eu que 713 Membres, tandis que celui de Paris (malgré ou à cause de ses travaux sérieux) en a compté 1064, chiffre qui n'a été atteint dans aucun autre Congrès. Leurs Majestés l'Empereur du Brésil, le Roi de Danemark, le Roi d'Espagne, le Mikado du Japon, le Chah de Perse, le Roi de Portugal, le Prince régnant de Roumanie, la Princesse régnante de Roumanie, et son Altesse le Khédive d'Egypte et S.E. le Président de la République de Salvador étaient Membres du Congrès de 1873.

La proposition d'un pareil Institut fut désapprouvée par au moins les deux tiers des délégués, mais elle vient néanmoins d'être développée comme si elle avait été confirmée régulièrement.

Tout cela est si arbitraire et si contraire à l'esprit français, créateur de ces Congrès, et à la république des lettres dans laquelle tous ceux qui sont intéressés au progrès de la science sont égaux et frères, que nous faisons appel d'abord au Comité fondateur et Membres du Congrès de 1873 qui lui ont imposé certains devoirs et ensuite aux Membres de tous les autres Congrès subséquents pour qu'ils protestent contre tout éloignement non-autorisé des "Statuts définitifs des Congrès internationaux" et fassent revenir les Congrès à leur première simplicité.

En attendant nous soumettons à votre appréciation la lettre de déclaration ci-jointe qui est déjà signée par un grand nombre d'Orientalistes distingués.

Agrérez, Messieurs, l'assurance de notre très haute considération

G. W. LEITNER, LL.D., &c.

Ancien Directeur du Collège du Gouvernement, et du Collège Oriental à Lahore, Inde; actuellement Directeur de l'Institut et du Musée orientaux à Woking, près Londres; Vice-Président du Congrès international des Sciences Ethnographiques tenu à Paris en 1889.

Woking, 18 Novembre, 1889.

Nous nous associons à cette déclaration de faits et d'opinions.

G. MASPERO,

Membre de l'Institut, Professeur au Collège de France.

E. W. BULLINGER,
D.D.

CECIL BENDALL,
M.A.

Délégué de la Société Asiatique de Londres aux Congrès de Vienne

et de Stockholm-Christiania. Professeur de Sanscrit à University College, Londres, &c.

CHRISTIAN D.
GINSBURG,
LL.D., &c.

Delegate of the Palestine Exploration Fund at the International Congress of Orientalists held at Stockholm - Christiania in 1889.

ROBERT K.
DOUGLAS,

Délégué de l'Angleterre au Congrès fondateur de Paris; Professor of Chinese, King's College, London, &c.

G. M. OLLIVIER
BEAUREGARD,
Délégué de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris au 8me Congrès des Orientalistes (1889).

G. SCHLEGEL,
Docteur, Prof. à l'Université de Leyde; Délégué au Congrès de Stockholm-Christiania du Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal, Land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië à la Haye.

RÉPONSE DES MEMBRES DU COMITÉ FONDATEUR.

Réponse de Monsieur E. Madier de Montjau.

J'approuve la déclaration de ces faits. J'en remercie M. le Dr. Leitner et je m'associe aux opinions exprimées par lui. Les agissements du Congrès de Stockholm et de son Comité me paraissent ruineux pour l'institution. Je vote pour Londres.

E. MADIER DE MONTJAU,

Membre fondateur et Membre de droit.

Réponse de Monsieur J. Le Vallois.

J'adhère dans les mêmes termes que M. Madier de Montjau et je vote pour Londres.

J. LE VALLOIS,

Membre fondateur et Membre de droit.

28. 11. 1889.

N.B.—La majorité du Comité Fondateur et des Membres français

ayant voté pour Londres ou Oxford comme siège du prochain Congrès (en 1890 et 1891), et une invitation ayant été reçue de Londres, il ne reste qu'à constituer des Comités de délégués en chaque pays représenté aux Congrès pour recevoir des adhésions, etc., sur la base de nos "statuts définitifs adoptés par l'assemblée internationale." Veuillez donc "élire des délégués chargés de recueillir des adhésions en faveur de la session suivante" et de trancher les questions préliminaires relatives à cette session. (Art. 10.) Nous proposerions que les membres qui ont signé et ceux qui signeront la Circulaire du 10 Octobre 1889 dans les différents pays, se constituassent en Assemblées générales, pour élire les dits Comités.

THE DECLARATION.

À Messieurs les Membres des Congrès Internationaux des Orientalistes.

Paris, 10 Octobre, 1889.

MESSIEURS ET ILLUSTRES COLLÈGUES,

Nous croyons de notre devoir de réclamer contre la composition du Comité chargé d'organiser le prochain Congrès comme ne comprenant pas de membres appartenant à l'Angleterre, à la Russie, à la France, à l'Italie, au Portugal, à l'Espagne et autres pays qui ont des intérêts en Orient. Le récent Congrès n'ayant pas choisi le siège du prochain Congrès, le droit de faire ce choix doit revenir au Comité fondateur de Paris, selon les règlements qui nous servent de base. Comme il est à craindre qu'une ville plutôt orientale qu'orientaliste soit choisie par l'homme le plus actif de ce Comité organisateur (M. Landberg) pour siège du prochain Congrès, nous avons l'honneur de vous soumettre des considérations qui pourraient vous décider en faveur de Paris ou de Londres comme siège de ce Congrès.

Beaucoup de nos Collègues sont d'avis qu'il est nécessaire de convoquer le prochain Congrès en 1890, où au plus tard en 1891, et ceci dans une ville comme Paris ou Londres, où nous ne serions pas le centre de l'attention et de l'amusement publics comme nous l'étions ailleurs. Le récent Congrès du reste n'a pas résumé les travaux faits en différentes spécialités orientales depuis le Congrès de Vienne; il n'a pas pris connaissance de recherches de premier ordre et de beaucoup d'ouvrages faits depuis ce temps, il n'a pas suggéré des mesures pratiques pour encourager les études orientales soit en Orient où elles sont négligées soit en Occident où ces études devraient entrer dans l'éducation scientifique et même dans la vie pratique.

Si vous choisissez Londres, le Dr. Leitner sera très heureux d'offrir une hospitalité simple à 20 Membres pendant la durée du Congrès. Le Dr. Ginsburg l'offre à cinq autres Membres et il y a lieu d'espérer que *tous* les membres auront au moins le choix entre des hôtels et les maisons de nos Collègues et amis Anglais. Le Dr. Ginsburg, le professeur A. H. Sayce et le Dr. Leitner croient pouvoir obtenir une garantie de la somme de 3000 livres sterling, en Angleterre, somme plus que suffisante pour un Congrès sérieux.

Nous sommes, MM. et Illustres Collègues, vos tous dévoués

G. W. LEITNER,
LL.D., D.O.L., PH.D.,
M.A., &c.
Ancien Directeur du collège du Gouvernement, et du Collège Oriental à Lahore, Inde; actuellement Directeur de l'Institut et du Musée orientaux à Woking, près Londres; Vice-Président du Congrès international des Sciences Ethnographiques tenu à Paris en 1889.

J'adhère à la déclaration signée par MM. Leitner, Maspero, et Sayce.

J. OPPERT,
Membre de l'Institut, Prof. au Collège de France.

J'adhère à la déclaration signée par MM. Leitner, Maspero, Sayce, et Oppert.

E. MADIER DE
MONTJAU,
Membre fondateur et Membre de droit (article 15 des Règlements), (vote pour Londres).

G. SCHLEGEL,
Professeur à l'Université de Leyde.

G. U. POPE,
M.A., D.D.,
Oxford University.

HYDE CLARKE,
V. P. of the Royal Historical Society, &c.

LEPEL GRIFFIN,
K.C.S.I.

O. HOUDAS,
Professeur à l'École des langues orientales vivantes à Paris.

F. KIELHORN,
PH.D., C.I.E.,
Prof. of Sanscrit at the University of Göttingen (London or Paris, 1890 or 1891).

G. DÉVÉRIA,
Prof. de Chinois moderne à l'École des langues orientales vivantes à Paris.

E. GROSJEAN MAUPIN,
Nancy,
Prof. agrégé de l'Université.

G. MASPERO,
Membre de l'Institut, Professeur au Collège de France.

Avec l'opinion que le prochain Congrès devrait se tenir à Londres ou à Oxford, plutôt qu'à Paris.

D. CHWOLSON,
Docteur, Professeur émérite, Conseiller d'état actuel; St. Pétersbourg (vote pour Londres).

J. LE VALLOIS,
Membre fondateur et de droit (pour Londres).

CH. COUSIN,
Président des amis du livres et des bibliophiles contemporains, Paris.

E. AMÉLINEAU,
Maître de Conférences à l'École des Hautes Etudes, Paris.

(Plutôt Londres que Paris.)

ÉMILE GUIMET,
Musée Guimet, Paris.

H. W. BELLEW,
M.D., C.S.I.,
Surgeon-General, Bengal Army (retired).

G. M. OLLIVIER
BEAUREGARD.

Oxford or London
(provided no invitation be received from Switzerland, &c.)

THOS. G. PINCHES,
Dept. of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum.

R. HOERNING,
Dept. of Oriental MSS., British Museum.

T. H. THORNTON,
D.C.L., C.S.I.,
Member of Council of the Royal Asiatic Society.

J'adhère à la déclaration signée par MM. Leitner, Maspero, Sayce et Oppert.

GIUSEPPE TURRINI,
Prof. Univ. Bologna (pour Paris ou Londres).

A. C. LYALL,
K.C.B., K.C.I.E., D.C.L.

A. H. SAYCE,
M.A., LL.D., D.D.,
Dep. Prof. Comp. Philology, Oxford; Fellow and late Senior Tutor, Queen's Coll., Oxford.

Le soussigné Président de l'Académie Franco-Hispano-Portugaise de Toulouse, etc., déclare adhérer en son entier à la proposition faite par MM. Leitner, Maspero, Sayce, et Oppert.

CLÉMENT SIPIÈRE
(pour Londres).

CHRISTIAN D.
GINSBURG,
LL.D., &c.

A. G. ELLIS,
M.A.,
British Museum.

R. K. DOUGLAS,
Prof. of Chinese, King's College, London. Délégué de l'Angleterre au Congrès fondateur de Paris.

ED. DROUIN,
M.R.A.S., M.S.R.A.RCH.

LA SOCIÉTÉ ACADÉMIQUE INDO-CHINOISE DE FRANCE.

C. W. SKARSTEDT,
PH. & D.D.,
Theol. Prof. (Lund) (pour Londres).

C. J. BALL,
M.A.,
Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn; formerly Censor of King's College, London.

J. LEGGE,
M.A., LL.D., D.D.,
Professor, Fellow Corpus Christi Coll., Oxford; Professor of Chinese in the University of Oxford (in favour of Paris).

EDMUND
MCCLURE.

ANTELMO
SEVERINI
(pour Paris).

PAUL ORY,
Résident de France en Annam et au Tonkin. (pour Londres).

A. TSAGARELLI,
Dr., Prof. à l'Univ. de St. Pétersbourg, Conseiller d'Etat (à Paris ou Londres).

FR. KAULEN,
Prof. of Theology at Bonn (for London or Oxford, or wherever science and not amusement is the object).

T. WITTON DAVIES,
B.A.,
Professeur de langue hébraïque, Haverfordwest, N. Wales (suggests a British annual Oriental Congress, and votes for Paris or London—or Oxford).

E. GLASER,
Munich
(Paris ou Londres).

A. NEUBAUER,
M.A.,
Exeter Coll., sub-Librarian of the Bodleian, Oxford.

PROF. DR. HARTWIG
DERENBOURG,
Professeur à l'Ecole des langues Orientales vivantes à Paris.
(pour Paris ou Londres).

B. P. HAZDEU,
Prof. à l'Univ. de Bucarest (pour Paris, 1890).

Je partage l'opinion du Professeur Maspero.
Lyon, 6 Novembre, 1889.

HENRY COUTAGNE,
Médecin légiste (Oxford ou Londres en 1891).

E. W. BULLINGER,
D.D.

GEORGE BIRDWOOD,
M.D., LL.D., K.C.I.E.,
C.S.I.

C. M. WATSON,
C.M.G., MAJOR R.E.

H. H. HOWORTH,
M.P.

G. DE VASCONCEL-
LOS ABREU,
Professeur de Sanscrit à l'Ecole Sup. de Lettres, Lisbonne; Délégué du Gouvern. de Sa Majesté T. F. au VIII^e Congrès des Orientalistes.

LE COMTE C. DE
MONTBLANC
(pour Londres).

XAVIER GAULTIER
DE CLAUVERY
(adhésion empressée pour Londres).

CH. MICHEL,
Professeur à l'Université de Gand.

G. GORRESIO,
Sécrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie des Sciences à Turin, Membre étranger de l'Institut de France (pour Paris).

DR. J. GOTTWALDT,
Kazan (pour Paris ou Londres en 1890).

PROF. DR. C. ABEL,
Berlin
(pour Londres).

HERBERT BAYNES,
M.R.A.S.

GEORGE ROY
BADENOCH,
LL.D.,
Dean of the Oriental Institute, Woking.

C. WELLS,
PH.D.,
Professor of Turkish at King's College, London (formerly Professor at the Imperial Naval College, Constantinople); Examiner in Turkish and Arabic to the Civil Service Commission, 1887-8-9, &c.

E. MONTET,
Docteur, Professeur de langues orientales à l'Université de Genève (pour Londres en 1890).

LE COMTE
DILHAN,
(pour Paris).

H. W. FREELAND,
M.A. (Oxon.), M.R.A.S.
(pour Londres).

D. MARCERON,
(pour Londres).

E. SOLDI
(pour Londres).

R. GRAFFIN,
Prof. de Syriaque, Inst. Cathol. Paris (pour Londres).

J. GIRARD DE RIALLE,
Ministre Plénipotentiaire, Chef de la Division des Archives au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères.

JAMES
DARMESTERER,
Professeur au Collège de France (à Londres ou Oxford en 1891).

B. DE VILLEMEREUIL.

PAUL BOELL,
Membre de la Société Asiatique, Paris (adhère avec empressement, Oxford ou Londres).

J. F. BLUMHARDT,
Lecturer of Hindustani, Bengali, and Hindi for the Imperial Institute, London.

AUGUSTUS W.

FRANKS,
C.B.; LITT.D.; F.R.S.,
British Museum, Londres (pour Paris ou Londres).

FR. J. HEWITT
B.C.S. (retired) M.R.A.S.

E. N. ADLER,
M.A., M.R.A.S.

W. IRVINE,
B.C.S. (retired) M.R.A.S.

ANT. J. BAUM-
GARTNER,

Prof. d'Exég. de l'A. T. à l'Ecole de Théol. Genève (Londres ou Paris en 1891).

FÉLIX ROBIOU,
Correspondant de l'Institut, &c. (choisit Paris dont le tour revient, 1891).

H. A. SALMONÉ,
Lecturer of Arabic at the University and King's Colleges, London.

DR. J. S. PHÉNÉ,
F.S.A.; F.R.G.S., &c.

MME. F. KRELLEN-
BERG,
Kazan (1^{re} Paris, 2^o Londres, 1890).

AMELIA B. EDWARDS,
LL.D., ETC.,
V. P. and Hon. Sec. Egypt Exploration Fund (vote pour Paris, Londres, la Suisse ou Oxford; avec préférence pour la Suisse, 1891.)

DR. H. H. VON
BILGUER
(1^{re} pour Paris, 2^o pour Londres).

A. LEGRAND, DR.,
Président de la Société Américaine de France (Paris ou Londres).

JOSEPH MACDONALD.

LE CAPITAINE A.
D'IRGENS-BERGH,
*Docteur en droit, Gentil-
homme de la Cambre de
S.M. le Roi de Dane-
mark, &c.* (prefère
l'année 1891).

Messrs. les Membres
des Congrès Interna-
tionaux des Orientalistes
le 31 Octobre, 1889,
Paris, 44 Rue de Rennes.
"Je m'associe à la pro-
testation de MM. Leit-
ner, Maspero, et Sayce,
contre la composition du
Comité chargé d'organiser
le prochain Congrès
International des Orien-
talistes, et je déclare
voter pour Londres."

MARQUIS DE
CROIZIER.

*Membre des Congrès
Internationaux des Ori-
entalistes; Président
de la Société Académi-
que Indo-Chinoise de
France, &c., &c.*

EUGENE GIBERT,
*Membre des Congrès
Internationaux des
Orientalistes, &c.*

Messieurs les Membres sont priés de signer cette lettre en exprimant leur adhésion pour Paris ou Londres et de la renvoyer au Dr. Leitner, à Woking, Angleterre, à M. le Marquis de Croizier, 44, Rue de Rennes à Paris, ou à M. E. Madier de Montjau, 50, rue de Moscou, à Paris.

POUR LONDRES OU OXFORD.*

R. ROST,
LL.D., &c.,
*Bibliothécaire de l'India
Office, Londres.*

FELIX MICHALOWSKI,
D.M.M.

(pour Paris).

TH. DUKA,
M.D.
(plutôt à Paris).

PROF. DR. V.
FAUSBOLL.

FRANCIS W.

PERCIVAL,
M.A., F.S.A., &c.

REV. H. G.

TOMKINS
(London preferred).

H. PRIESTLEY,
B.A., B.C.S. (retired),
(Paris or Oxford).

C. C. JENSEN,
*Pasteur Émérite, Copen-
hague*
(pour Londres).

P. E. FOUCAUX,
*Professeur au Collège
de France.*

A. A. MACDONELL,
M.A., PH.D.,
*Dep. Prof. of Sanskrit,
Oxford.*

TH. ORSIER,
DR. EN DROIT
(pour Londres).

J'adhère à la déclara-
tion de M. le Dr. Leitner,
avec opinion que le pro-
chain Congrès doit se
réunir à Londres et dès
1890.

RAVISI
(BARON TEXTOR DE),
*Président-Fondateur du
premier Congrès des
Orientalistes Français;
Président de Séance du
premier Congrès Interna-
tional des Orientalistes
(Paris); Délégué aux
Congrès de Londres et de
St. Petersburg, &c.*

F. ADSERSEN,
CAPT.
(à Londres ou Oxford
en 1890, ou au plus tard
en 1891).

J. J. MEYER,
*Officier civil du Gou-
vernement des Indes
Néerlandaises (à Lon-
dres ou Paris).*

LEON FREER,
*Bibliothécaire à la biblio-
thèque nationale à Paris
(à Londres ou Oxford
en 1891).*

JULIEN VINSON,
*Prof. à l'Ecole des lan-
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JULIEN
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1873 (pour Londres).*
E. J. RAPSON,

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lege, Cambridge (British
Museum).*

DR. J. KARLOWITZ
(de Varsovie)
(pour Londres, 1891).

M. G. L. VAN
LOCHERN,
Amsterdam
(pour Paris ou Londres).

Je proteste et je vote
pour Londres.

E. AYMONIER,
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(pour Londres).*

H. CERNUSCHI.

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MAX GRÜNERT,
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* Il y a des difficultés à la réception d'un Congrès à Oxford.

WESTERN BUDDHISM.

As a short time ago a most interesting paper was presented to us by the Bishop of Colombo upon the state of Buddhism in Ceylon, perhaps a slight commentary on the mass of grovelling superstition and decayed Hinduism, which trades under the name of the Great Buddha, who brought civilization and religion to the larger portion of mankind, may be acceptable to those interested in the subject. We have read so full an account of fanaticism and ignorance in Ceylon, it may be as well to glance at the Northern School of Buddhism, which has made its way to our Western world, and between which and the Singhalese there is as much cause of dissension as there was between Luther and Pope Leo X. As both the Roman and the Reformed churches bore the name of Christian, so the followers of Sākyamuni from Persia to Japan and China, and the fakirs of Southern India bear the name of Buddhist. It would be as reasonable to say we could not become Christians, because we do not bow down to images, or trust in the absolution of the priest, as to say we cannot become Buddhists because we do not care for devil-dancing, or that it is against our principles to offer sacrifices. The spirit of a religion does not lie in its corruption. The acceptors of the sublime philosophy of Sākyamuni (called by the Southern or Pāli school Gautama Buddha) in the Western Hemisphere are accused of maintaining the "grovelling superstition" of the East. What have the accused to offer in defence? A brief analysis of the great religion without a creed.

The Northern School of Buddhism appears to have diverged from the Southern a hundred years after Buddha's death, about 377 B.C.; after the Council held at Vaisali

(Besárh, near Patna). It (the Northern Buddhism) is not merely a free development or adaptation of the Southern Buddhism as the Bishop of Colombo regards it, but is rather the result of the mixture of foreign and non-Buddhist ideas, with the orthodox belief of the old school. When we say "orthodox belief," we do not mean the pure and unadulterated precepts, but the germs of Buddha's teaching, which, falling into a barren soil and receiving no nourishment, instead of developing freely, lost many of its nobler parts and became narrowed and corrupt. The Northern tribes who, if savage in their native hills, came with at least new life and earnest practices, bore down and settled in the districts north and west of the Ganges. We know by early tradition that Buddha preached to and converted many of these foreign people, such as the Voggians of Vaisili and the natives of Kaisinagara. Though brought over nominally to the faith, they retained with their professed adhesion to it very many of their own superstitions. This mixture of the old ideas with the new led to the development of the one great Eastern religion, caused the division which occurred at the so-called second Council of Vaisili, and afterwards the formation of eighteen heterodox sects. These sects spread rapidly over North India, and kept a firm hold on the greater part of it; whilst the orthodox portion of the community, under the name of the School of the Elder (Sthaviras) and its subdivision took root in the South, especially in the district between the Godaveri and the Krishna. Here, probably, the Páli language was developed and matured. Even in Huen Tsieng's time (600 A.D.) "the language of Andhra and the arrangement of the sentences (*i.e.*, grammatical form) differed from that of Mid-India, though the shapes of the letters were nearly the same." (Si-yu-kì II. 217.) The Buddhist books, according to the orthodox tradition, were written and classed here, and at intervals hence carried to Ceylon. This is the opinion of Dr. Oldenburg (Introduction to the Vinaya Pitaka). It does not follow, however, so other authorities state, that the Páli books of the present day

are identical with the early ones known in South India. In fact there is good reason to suppose that during the first centuries of our era the Pāli books were lost and the Sanscrit version used in their place until the time of Buddagrosṣa (perhaps 420 A.D.). So that the Northern school is not at all a development of the Southern nucleus of belief; but an independent growth, embodying doubtless the same primitive doctrine (derived, however, not from the Pāli, but from original tradition), but expanded by the introduction of foreign elements unknown to the orthodox school.

Perhaps the difference in the two schools is shown most plainly by the names used by each for the founder of their religion. The Southern or Pāli schools speak of him as Gotama or Gautama, a term used chiefly in the Northern school as one of disrespect or reproach. On the other hand in the North the ordinary name for the Buddha is Sākya-muni, of which name Childers speaks thus (*s.v.* Sakiyo, Pāli Dict.): "I here enter my protest against the continental (!) custom of speaking of Gautama Buddha as Sākya-muni, which is a mere epithet. . . . Gautama is the name by which he was universally known and addressed." Professor Beal says:—"There could not be a more palpable error than this. Even at the present day the religion of Buddha in China is classified as "Shih Kian" or "Shik Kian."—that is "the doctrine or teaching of Sākya," whilst the epithet of *Ku-tum*, or Gautama, is one of contempt and disrespect." On every ground the Southern or Pāli school represents one branch, and the Northern (but not necessarily Sanscrit) school an independent 'growth from the same primitive root.

It seems from these facts gathered from authentic sources and the dates, both of the dissension at the Council of Vaisāli, leading to the rupture and formation of two schools and of the writing and classification of the Pāli books; that the Buddhism of the Sacred Books in Ceylon is no guide whatever to the Buddhism of Northern and Mid-India, China, Japan, and Corea. So much for the written tradition,

and with regard to the oral, it is somewhat strange that a Christian preacher should reject the "tradition" of his own church, as supported by the Romanists, and uphold the "tradition" of the Buddhist as extant in Ceylon! When we say "uphold" we mean, of course, that he should declare that the traditional interpretation should form their true religion.

The Bishop of Colombo, when alluding to the number of Buddhists, takes exception to the custom of enrolling the Chinese population in a body amongst the professed followers of this religion. It is well known the Chinese are, professedly at least, Confucianists. Their tastes and interests lie in the maintenance of their old classics, but the literary portion of the community is generally Buddhist as well. A Buddhist cannot be a Confucianist, properly speaking, but he may accept what he sees to be right in Confucianism in matters relating to filial piety and the duties of a good subject; and a large section, millions in fact, adhere solely to the Buddhist religion. They frequent the temples, feed the monks, and are influenced by the hope of future reward for their pious acts, and deterred from evil by fear of punishment. This is well known to Chinese students, and so far shows that Buddhism, perhaps in its exaggerated form, is a power among them regarded dogmatically. With regard to numerical statements, Professor Neuman counts 369 millions of Buddhists, a number which multiplied by three would give one milliard, 107 millions for the population of the earth. This is estimated by M. Hassel at 921 millions, by Malte-Brun at 642 millions, and by others at 737 millions. The half of the average sum of these numbers would be 385 millions. Obry (in reply to M. Barthélemy Saint Hilaire) says:—"The translator of the Rādjātaringini does not much exaggerate the number of actual Buddhists in placing them at one half of the human race."

As to Korea, the Bishops Bickersteth and Williams relate "that Buddhism has but little influence here." It is true the Buddhist monks and nuns are not allowed to enter

the capital or any walled city. This prohibition is said to have arisen from political reasons and from abuses caused by evil-disposed people personating monks and nuns. But in the country one sees Korean peasants very devout in their observance of Buddhist worship. In the towns neither Buddhism nor any other religion seems to have any hold. It was, however, through Korea that Japan received its first knowledge of Buddhism, and not a few of the pilgrims who visited India in the seventh century of our era were Koreans, according to I. Tsing. It was from Korea again the best and oldest copy of the Northern Canon of Buddhist books proceeded, and was brought to Japan in A.D. 1275 ; and from their compilation the Japanese Society, Kō-Kiō-shō-in, is now publishing from moveable type a new edition of the same Canon. In addition to the fact that we owe to Korea several scholar-like editions of Buddhist secular works (such as the edition of Fa-Hien's travels and others) it is abundantly evident that their country is not as dead to Buddhism as the Bishops would represent.

The Bishop of Colombo dwells upon the peculiarity of Buddhism that it is not "exclusive," that is, that it can dwell among a people who do not implicitly accept its teaching ; that a Buddhist can continue a Hindu or Taoist, &c., and be none the less a Buddhist. But surprise on this matter can only be due to sheer disregard of the great Buddhist principle : " Believe in a thousand gods, or a trinity of gods, or no god at all ; but if you try to lead a pure life, you are a Buddhist." If, also, it be considered comfortless and discouraging as stated by the Bishop, in his article, that a " man must *strive*, and has no help to look for, but must help himself," it is at any rate sound, and fills up a moral gap made by another creed—"that if you believe so and so, it will be well with you hereafter ; but if you do not believe, no goodness of life will help you." Buddhism, which teaches man's responsibility towards himself, is not exclusive as regards doctrine, but that is not a peculiarity of this philosophical religious school only. Even Peter, James, and John

remained Jews, and continued to keep the passover and to pray to Jehovah, as well as tried to force Judaic rites on others. It is the same with all the great religions in the present day. Sir W. W. Hunter says (in the same number of *Nineteenth Century*, 137), "In Islam as in Hinduism, there is an enlightened party who are shaking off the trammels of old superstitions, and are labouring to bring their hereditary faith into accord with the requirements of the times." And the same tendency is visible elsewhere: a tendency leading to the acknowledgment that there is more or less "good in everything," and the agreements of differing religious beliefs ought to be searched out and shown, for the strengthening of our faith, as well as the difference and disagreements in proof of our superiority.

As we are here casting a summarising glance over Northern Buddhism as accepted by the West, we should perhaps allude to the Bishop of Colombo's statement, that England, when supporting Buddhism, is simply maintaining the "grovelling superstition of Ceylon." No one who knows anything of Buddhism, calls *that* Buddhism, but agrees with the Bishop himself when he says, that what Bishops Williams and Bickersteth say of Korea may also be applied to Ceylon. "Buddhism has been little influence here. The Confucian philosophy remains the religion of the learned classes; the unlearned have none, unless it be excessive reverence for, or dread of, ghosts and evil spirits." Evidently Buddhism is as strange a religion now, in Ceylon, as Christianity. And the mission which is spoken of, as setting out from Japan, to enlighten Western Europe, where they believe Christianity is dying out, had perhaps better take Ceylon on its way, that the sins of the heathen fanatics may not rest on the shoulders of the Buddhist philosophers. It is not for maintaining superstition that Buddhism was ever preached. In the "substance of the Vinaya" or "the preaching of the Vinaya," alluded to by Asoka in the edict of Bhabra, it is clearly laid down among things forbidden "that there must be no study of the stars, or the

movements of the constellations, no casting lucky or unlucky days"; and what did Buddha come for, but as a regenerator of the Brahminical school, with its mass of evil customs, and as a seeker after holiness found in man, through the essence of God. Buddha's crusade was against all outward help, or rather outward semblance of help, and his doctrine that of inward life. This system would not clash with Christianity; and the Church might well acknowledge the good found in this as in other faiths: let it disclose the services which all the great religions have performed for mankind, the binding power which they supplied to the feeble social organisations of other days, the support which they gave to the nascent moral sense, the function they have discharged in developing the ideas of national obligation and domestic duty. When we have done this, we shall not find our recognition of what is *good* has drawn us into the path of evil, such as maintaining "grovelling superstition," which is not a growth peculiar only to the East.

In the article still under consideration we find a statement, "That there is not the slightest hint that the truths the Buddhists make known come by revelation from any person superior to the Buddha, or that Buddha is in any sense God." This carries us into one of the most knotty points of the whole discussion. The question is often raised, "Have Buddhists a God?" (or are they Atheists, in modern jargon?) Did Buddha acknowledge a Supreme Being? His time was 600 B.C., when the one God, Jehovah, was all that had been declared, and that far from Nepaul, where he was born, and Kaisinagara, where he died. The religion of his age and country was Brahminism, which enforced the worship of, not one God, but many, and not the sacrifice of one's own life, but the sacrifice of other lives. And in this sea of sin and sorrow, in the midst of ignorance and self-deception, was born "Buddha," which means the "enlightened one," "one who has attained to the highest wisdom," a "God among Gods," "the author of all truth." That he did not declare himself as God or as a

means of salvation to the people can be proved by abundant evidence; but that he endeavoured to attain Supreme Wisdom to guide others into the Fourfold Noble Path can also be proved by abundant evidence. How he attained it is related by every Buddhist Canon, every Eastern chronicle, with such slight variation, that one may certainly glance over the story without being accused of much historical inaccuracy.

Buddha, born about 620 B.C., near the city of Kapila, was the son of Suddhōdana, King of Kapilaaster, and his Queen Maya. The legends relating to his birth matter little. He was known in youth as Prince Siddhārtha, and was renowned for his extraordinary gifts and gentle and sublime character. His tastes were entirely those of the higher and most intellectual kind; and so much was he given to thought and study that he incurred the displeasure of his father's ministers and advisers, who represented him to his Majesty as incapable of any manly exercise. In disproof of this accusation Siddhārtha then displayed immense power and strength, and performed great feats of physical agility and skill. Being warned by prophecy and by the extraordinary phenomenal circumstance attending his birth, that his son would become a Buddha and renounce all his princely state to go out as a mendicant in pursuit of wisdom and to aid suffering mankind, King Suddhōdana had him placed under the most careful surveillance, everything to please and satisfy and sooth was kept around him, and everything to cause thought and reflection was far removed from him. A beautiful, young and loving wife, Yasōdhara, was bestowed on him, and all things to charm the sense, as well as intellect, surrounded him. But the prophecy, even of those in benighted heathendom, seven centuries before Christ, was fulfilled. He was to see four sights (viz., decrepitude, sickness, a dead body, and a recluse), which would induce him to leave the palace and become a mendicant. This the King had guarded against, but Siddhārtha resolved to ride out on his horse, Kantaka, and accompanied by his devoted atten-

dant, Channa, to see the world. In the article before us we read: "The historical character of Gautama was unstained except by pride." Even after the most careful study of every legend extant relating to Gautama's life, we can find no single instance of this "pride." They differ in some degree and in minor circumstances or anecdotes, but the principal incidents remain the same; and the character ascribed to Buddha is identical throughout, pure and simple, holy and self-sacrificing. His detractor declares his character "stained with pride," but brings forward no evidence or legendary data to corroborate the statement.

Prince Siddhârtha rode out, on his horse Kantaka, to "see the world." He had marvelled often why his father's subjects cared for him; although he cared for them, how could they know it? so he argued. And when a little boy threw flowers in his path, he begged he might be lifted up, to ride on his horse before him. He proceeded among his people, in the midst of acclamation and a festive throng, but on his way he saw—a trembling old man! The Prince enquired, "Was he born so?" His attendant* replied, "No, he once had been young like themselves." The Prince asked "were there many such beings in the world?" and received the answer "there were many." He asked then, "would he become so?" and had the reply, "All beings must." He turned back filled with the thought, that if all things must decay, life was not to be desired. A few months after, he saw a sick man or déwa at the roadside, with the appearance of a leper, and he returned at once to the palace greatly agitated. At exactly the same period—four months—he found in the garden a dead body covered with worms; and four months after again, he met a reclusè journeying along the road, with a face expressing the most perfect peace and contentment.

* His attendant was more honest than the French ecclesiastic. "Quoi donc," exclaimed the young Dauphin to his preceptor, when some book mentioned a King as having died—"quoi donc, les rois meurent-ils?" "Quelquefois, monseigneur," was the cautious but courtly reply.—*Brougham's Historical Sketches.*

He thought over these things for many days: the King was terrified and increased the guard around the palace gates, declaring the Prince should not be permitted to pass out. But his efforts to amuse and distract the Prince all failed; the dancing and singing girls wearied and disgusted him, and he brooded over "suffering mankind" night and day. To his "Lotus-flower," the Princess Yasôdhara he confided the painful thoughts that worked upon his soul: the fear of death, the dread of sickness and old age, and the transience of all existing things. Not only for himself and loved one, but for all the world, he wondered always "whence the cause of sorrow?" The Brahma that he knew seemed to him a cruel god to make the world so, and give no means of escape: was there none? This was the question that harassed and tormented him, and made him resolve to devote his life to the solution of the problem, what was the cause of suffering, and where lay the means of release? Yasôdhara knew well his life would be devoted to the relief and welfare of mankind. Her father, Supra-budha, King of Kôli, had refused consent to her marriage with Siddhartha, fearing she would soon become a widow, as it was prophesied the Prince should become a recluse. Yasôdhara declared, however, that even if Siddhârtha were to become a recluse the day after his marriage, there was no one else in the world to whom she would be united.

Siddhârtha could not trust himself to say farewell to his wife and infant son. He stood in the doorway gazing silently at all he loved and valued—the loving, beautiful Yasôdhara and her child lying on a flower-decked couch—and mutely left them to the welfare of the present, while he sought the welfare in the yet to come. Channa, his faithful attendant, waited for him with his milk-white steed, Kantaka, and in the night-time they set out. They rode till day-break, when Siddhârtha dismounted, and divesting himself of all jewels and ornaments, gave them to Channa, bidding him return with them and the horse, and inform his father and wife that he had "gone into the forest," and they would

not see him again until he had become a Buddha. The Prince then entered upon his life as a mendicant, having renounced wealth, power, and ease, rich food, and luxurious clothing. He subsisted on the alms he begged from door to door, striving, through humility and poverty, to gain the key of wisdom. The incidents related of his six years' asceticism are too numerous even to touch on here. The life can scarcely be considered purely legendary, as all history seems to point to the existence of this Gautama Buddha; and the accounts in both Northern and Southern Canons tally pretty closely, as if the trials and temptations of this one Buddha were a sign-post in the great religion. The first city we read he tarried in, after seven days' fast, was Rajahgara,* which is about sixteen miles south of Bahar. There the King Bimsara went to him, hearing he had retired to the Rock Páudhara, to eat the contents of his alms-bowl, and said: "What is this that you are doing? No prince of your exalted rank was ever before a mendicant. [Suddhódana was lord paramount of the Sákya race.] There are connected with Rajahgara 80,000 inferior towns, and 18 kelas of people. The countries of Angu Magadha are 4,800 miles in extent, and bring me in a countless revenue. The city was once the residence of a Chakrawartti, and even now there are five grades of nobles; therefore come and divide the kingdom with me." But the Prince replied: "In seven days I shall reject the Chakrawartti-ship; so if I were to take the half of your kingdom, it would be like throwing away the magical jewel, chintá-mánikya, for a common stone. I want not an earthly kingdom; I seek to become Buddha." The King found it impossible to overcome his objections,

* The city is still known by this name. The Pújawaliya says of it:—"It is called Rajahgara because it was founded by a king, and every house in it resembled a palace. It is surrounded by mountains. In the time of the Buddhas it was like one vast round, in which the priest can go from house to house to receive alms. It was abandoned by Asoka, and when visited by Fa Hien, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim to India, A.D. 400, was entirely desolate and uninhabited, though a few Buddhistical remains could be traced."

and could only extract a promise from him that when he began to teach he would first visit Rajahgara : which agreement he fulfilled.

Allusions are often made to the strange resemblance that lies between the life of Buddha and the life of Christ, and the resemblance is certainly remarkable. Buddha's life was so pure, so self-sacrificing ; his devotion to mankind so heart-whole, his search after truth so earnest, it seems impossible to deny, that the life of any man, not God, could be more perfect or more guiding. To compare his life to that of Shakespeare is an act of stone-blindness—imbecility ! Shakespeare was one of our cleverest poets and philosophers ; Gautama (as we call him for convenience sake) was a great teacher, who *practised* the doctrine of self-renunciation. To consider the individual one must look on, not the miraculous conditions and fables related concerning him, but the historical facts of his existence. We are informed, by one of the strangest misrepresentations that ever misled the ignorant and confiding, that Gautama "did not perform any act of extraordinary goodness or self-sacrifice ;" and the question of the day, "how to obtain deliverance from the evil, and to gain the good, how to be happily born, or rather, how to escape unhappy births," and the method of sacrifice and austerity and meditation, were in full force at the time, and *were not due to Gautama !* Certainly they were not ! futile efforts were not ascribed to Gautama, but the reformation of the religion was. In dread of the declaration that his son would become a Buddha, renounce his kingdom, and go forth into the world to preach nobler and better things, King Suddhōdana kept all religious and philosophic questions from him ; but the problem of life, in due time, presented itself to him, and was not flung aside unsolved. He renounced a life of perfect earthly happiness, of ease and pleasure, luxury and power, for one of misery, privation, penury and hardship ; was there no self-sacrifice in that ?

He entered on the only path he saw, that of

austerity and meditation, hoping it would lead to the desired end. He went to the Urewela forest, joined a body of ascetics, and went through self-torture, fasting and physical suffering, perhaps in a greater degree, but still somewhat similar, to that undergone by Christian monks in later days. He was sorely tempted by Mara The Evil One, who, the Buddhist Scriptures record, gnashed his teeth when Siddhartha left the palace and declared, "We will see whether thou wilt become Buddha; from this time forth I will tempt thee with all the devices I can imagine; until the reception of the Buddhahood I will follow thee incessantly like thy very shadow, and on the day of its attainment I will bring a mighty army to oppose thee." In this religion, condemned as only "fanaticism and devil-dancing," there appears to be a great God Brahma and an Evil One (opposed); is this so benighted in an age when Solomon (with his many wives), who had worshipped Jehovah, turned away to Ashtoreth and Moloch? From this Brahminism, with its great God and Evil One, Gautama built up the religion of the Eastern world. He would perhaps have said as the Chinese say to-day, "If God loved His Son why did he kill him? and why if he loved the world did he put misery in it?" Gautama sought a god of peace and love, not one to be appeased by sacrifices; he sought a spirit, not to be described or seen by man, but which he believed to be in immediate connection with him; he sought knowledge of, and acquaintance with that spirit, and he called that wisdom. Whence then the maligners who say Buddhists have no God? This is a sketch on Buddhism, not a religious discussion, or one would ask, is it nearer the truth to feel God an essence within, without, inconceivable by man, known only as something greater than himself, to which belongs eternity and rest; or to picture him figuratively, as like ourselves, only a superior and awful being, who gives love and mercy measured out?

It is a common belief, arising probably from the fact that Gautama was the founder of the Buddhist religion, that

"Buddhism" means principally—as well as the two tenets of "No God," "No Heaven"—the doctrine of the transmigration of souls; but it would be more honest to assert with the Bishop of Colombo that that was a "doctrine of his day." It was the idea inculcated in the Hindoo mind, and no Christ or Christian heaven was dreamt of, in the Buddhist era, in the province of Nepaul and along the Ganges six centuries B.C. They acknowledged they felt there was a spirit, an essence that was not destroyed with the body, but migrated, and where? It might, and it seemed to them it must, pass into the frame of another being, perhaps an animal (so low did the lives of some men appear) to go through a series of births, until it became perfected and fit for eternal rest (Nirvana). Buddha accepted the system of the age, and his search was for knowledge, to attain perfection in this life, so as to escape the series of births or prolonged existence, for "all states of existence are attendant with sorrow" (Visuddhimagga Tikā) to escape the earthly probation (as Christians would escape purgatory) and pass at once to the happiness of Nirvana.

Gautama accepted the religion of his day, hoping it would impart to him the knowledge he required. There is a story told of a labourer's wife who informed him she "had no sorrow," and Gautama answered, "Then I should be your pupil." The pursuit of religion was made by ascetics in loneliness and meditation; Gautama joined them, and for six years carried out the "pitiless creed (of his day) of effort, self-training, &c." He reduced his body by fasting, according to the well-known method and belief, that enfeebling the flesh is strengthening the soul. He lay on the ground without power to move, emaciated, a skeleton, refusing food, while the other disciples watched him, expecting him to become a Buddha. But he did not; no knowledge, no "enlightenment," came to him, and he knew then that system was vain. They were indignant with him, and scorned him, and mocked at his weakness in falling away from the ascetic life. But he cast aside their superstitions, and when they

deserted him, saying he was no longer a disciple, he bathed and took nourishment, and set out on his journey alone. He went to Gaya, near which is the celebrated Bodhi-tree, under which he became "Buddha." In the article on Southern Buddhism we are informed that a Buddha is a man who discovers truths (which are unchangeable, but lost sight of in every age) and a system of escape from evil: "There is one for every age, and they all do the same thing; they are born into the same family, and leave home at the same hour of the night, &c." This fairy-tale scheme does not quite fit in with historical evidence. There were many Buddhas; "all the Buddhas" were constantly invoked, as we may speak of all the saints, but they were not identical, any more than St. John and St. Luke. In Burnouf's "*Lotus de la bonne loi*" we read there was a "prediction that for 500 years after Buddha's death, the true law should be preached, and for the next 1,000 years the worship of images should last." It doesn't say this should recur after every Buddha, but after *the* Buddha, the great teacher, whom he calls Gautama.

He spent the night under this Bô tree, in silent meditation and in ignorance; tempted, as the legends say, by Mara, the Evil One, or, as we would say, by evil thoughts. And through the darkness there came light; as by a flash of lightning came the long desired, long fought for, wisdom. We read (Bishop of Colombo): "There is not the slightest hint that the truths come by revelation from any person superior to the Buddha, or that the Buddha is in any sense God." Is any man God? He is not, inasmuch as he sins and suffers and dies; but he is, as his spirit is eternal and beyond all form. To eyes and ears accustomed to the idea of revelation, it does not appear how these truths came to Buddha, unless by revelation, that is, by inspiration from a Supreme Being. His conversion or attainment to wisdom bears the closest resemblance to that of St. Paul. Certainly one was in pursuit of it, and the other was in enmity, but it was as sudden in each case, and the truths they taught were almost identical. We should call it revelation, being

the result of a sudden spiritual change—but that is a matter for mere conjecture, subject to individual opinion. Dr. Oldenburgh does not hesitate to speak of a call by Divine Omnipotence expressed in this and similar cases—giving a new tenour to the whole life. It is true Buddha himself disclaimed any superior source of enlightenment. “Self-taught in this profoundest doctrine, I have arrived at supreme wisdom,” was his declaration. These are the words (as nearly as the English form can give the Eastern spirit) of Gautama Buddha: but where are the words of a great teacher that do not bear interpretation in many ways, and some in direct opposition to the others? Buddha’s doctrine was that of “self-redemption,” which was afterwards preached by St. Paul, as in “Work out your own salvation.” Yet no one accuses St. Paul of being an Atheist.

We are first told Buddhists have no God, and that Gautama Buddha ignored the question of a Supreme Being. The first statement is not correct. Every Buddhist Canon, every Eastern history speaks of the God of the Hindoos. Volumes teem with detailed accounts of the “All-Powerful” One. It may be argued Buddhism is not Hinduism, and it certainly is not, but it is as closely related to it as Protestantism is to the Roman Catholic Church. In the French translation of the laws of Manu (which the Bishop quotes as authentic), I. 7: “*Tui*, que l’esprit seul peut concevoir, dont l’essence échappe aux organes des sens, l’indécouvert et l’indécouvrable, l’éternel, le principe formateur de toutes les créatures, qu’aucune créature ne peut comprendre apparut dans toute sa splendeur.” And, “Voyant également l’âme suprême dans tous les êtres, et tous les êtres dans l’âme suprême, en offrant son âme en sacrifice il s’identifie avec l’Être qui brille de son propre éclat.” (Lois de Manou, xix. 91.) “C’est ce Dieu qui, enveloppant tous les êtres d’un corps formé des cinq éléments, les fait passer successivement de la naissance à l’accroissement, de l’accroissement à la dissolution, par un mouvement semblable à celui d’une roue.” (Lois de Manou xii. 24). And, “Dieu des

Dieux, Indra des Indras, Brahmâ des Brahmâs, seul libérateur, precepteur des trois mondes," in Buddhist litanies and so on. The Brahmins and Buddhists of Gautama's age were well acquainted with the idea of one God *supreme*, whatever they may have called the purified and disembodied spirit—lesser Gods, Saints or Buddhas. Buddha (Gautama) did not teach of a God revealed to him alone; he did not declare himself to be inspired, or teach a new form of worship. He was ever the leader of natural religion. To say that he taught of a personal God, or that he dragged down the Brahmin's God, replacing it by no other, is to entirely misrepresent his doctrine. It was untrue to say he had no God, although in his great humility he could not paint a deity whom he had not looked on, a Being whom man in his corporate state could not behold. If he did not believe in God, he believed in a Supreme Essence that was eternal and everywhere diffused. Is one word always to alter faith?

The god, worshipped and feared by the natives of Northern and Mid-India, B.C. 600, is "not what we mean by god." Well, it seems a god very much like that of the Jews, to whom they offered rites and sacrifices. In Abejjâparhohya saukhârâ vv. 153-4 we find Buddha speaking of a *First Cause*, and the English translation given is "The Maker of the Tabernacle." We read in translations from the Chinese of Jin Ch'au, a priest of Pekin, that there was belief in a Universal Essence, which assumed three forms—Dharmakaya. Tathâgata, called Vairojana (*i.e.*, the omnipresent); the Sambogakaya Tathâgata, called Rojana (*i.e.*, the infinitely pure or glorious); Nirmanakaya Tathâgata, called Sâkyamuni. "Now these three Tathâgatâs are all included in one substantial essence. The three are the same as one. Not one, and yet not different. Without parts or composition (web or woof). When regarded as one the three persons are spoken of as Tathâgata. But it may be asked, if the three persons are one substance, how is it the one substance is differently manifested? In reply we say there is no real

difference, these manifestations are only different views of the same unchanging substance."—*Beal*.

What is this omnipresent one and glorious body? Do the terms require any explanation? Yet we are told it cannot have the same meaning as our words, "for Buddha himself became God!" This requires explanation, or at any rate thought from any earnest student. In the definition of the doctrine we are discussing, it stands, "There is no hint that revelation comes from any superior to Buddha, or that Buddha is in any sense God." This statement sweeps a God out of the scheme altogether. But was Buddha in any sense God? As God, a being superior to man? No. As man superior to himself? Yes. His idea is the now familiar one: That in every man is the Divine essence. The Divine element is what constitutes each soul. In that sense each one can be God; that is, attain omniscience, be as God; by being only that atom of the universal essence, which *is* the Supreme Being, and casting off, or not cleaving to, that form and surroundings of the personality created by the Divine given power to create, and which deludes humanity by apparently existing. If man is in part God, he can create, but what he creates vanishes away. "When you have understood all that was made, you will understand that which was not made."* The Everlasting *is*, and the soul of man, which is his essence, is immortal. Buddha taught that all things were empty, vain, transient, and that sorrow was inseparable from love of existence. He taught all things man created were valueless, shadowy, and connected with sorrow, and the way to escape was to crush the human individuality, and to attain to the omniscient person engendered in each being. If this be a "hopeless, pitiless," doctrine, then where are the spiritual delights religion always speaks of?

As we are on the subject of the Buddhist God, we may perhaps mention here the worship of Kwan-yin. An interesting paper was placed in my hands by the late Professor

* Dhammapada, v. 383.

Beal: a translation of part of the "Services of the great compassionate Kwan-yin," written by Yung, Son of the Ming Dynasty, A.D. 1412, and presented to him by the Priests of the Hai Chwang Temple of Honan. The worship of the God (or Goddess) Kwan-yin was, we understand, introduced into China from the Northern School of Buddhism, and not from Ceylon. Among Southern Buddhists there was no such divinity known, although the worship of Vishnu in Ceylon may probably have been confounded with it. Fa-Hien the Chinese pilgrim (A.D. 400) does not allude to this deity until after he left Ceylon, when "he invoked Kwan-yin and all the Buddhist saints of China." The invocation of "the holy men of China" is an Arab custom, and it seems the Arab merchants (mentioned by Fa-Hien) brought the idea to Ceylon of a god, whom they called "Al Makah" or "he who hears" (*vid.* Tide, Outlines, section on the Saracens); hence the title of "Aralokitesvara," "The looking-down God." Ceylon was under the protection, and had a somewhat similar worship; but the cultus which originated there spread and came in contact with other forms of popular worship; and the idea of a "Manifested God" was established among the worshippers of the North. The Chinese title of Kwan Shai Yin is translated by Sir J. Davis "She (or he) who hears the cries of men"; by M. Rémusat it is rendered "*Vox contemplanis sæculum*"; while others consider it a mistaken version of the Sanscrit original "Aralokitesvara." With respect to the English translation of Kwan-Shai Yin as "She who hears the cries of men," or "Goddess of Mercy," it appears to be rather a description of the character than a true translation of the name. In the 6th Book of the Surangama Sûtra the character is described as one always ready to assist and rescue men from trouble. Fa-Hien tells us, when nearly wrecked on the coast of Ceylon, he and his fellow religionists all called upon the name of Aralokitesvara to save them from their peril. And the Temple of Kwan-yin, in the city of Canton, after the siege by the English in 1842, was

enlarged and beautified, because, as the printed account goes, "Kwan-yin appeared on that occasion over the city to protect and save it, in consequence of which the shot and shells of the barbarians fell harmless among the people." Here is a positive account of the worship of a Supreme Being, or what the Tibetans call the "God above all," and of an emotional religion, as well as a philosophical search for truth. Their imagination may have coloured the Being they worship (for human thought cannot reach the Infinite) as something to themselves impossible; as having a thousand hands and a thousand eyes, their expression of capable of all things unknown to us. They could not conceive the Supreme Essence, but their idea and worship were of a great Father Amitābha (Buddha) and a great and compassionate Kwan-yin and unseemly "Saviour of men." It is undeniable, all books and traditions go to prove, that the popular belief "that this religion is idolatry, and its aim annihilation," is erroneous and false. We read in the Liturgy of the service of Kwan-yin, "Oh! would that our own Teacher Śākyamuni and our merciful Father Amitābha (and the rest), not passing beyond their own limits of perfect rest and love, would all descend to this sacred precinct and be present with us who now discharge these religious duties. . . . May the Omnipotent and Omniscient Kwan-yin now come amongst us," &c.; and, further on, "We and all men from the first, from too great love of outward things, and having no wish to benefit others, or to do good in the least degree, have only strengthened the power of the three sources of sin, and added sin to sin; and even though our actual crimes have not been so great, yet a wicked heart has ruled us within. . . . We would cut off our connection with worldly objects, and aspire to the heart of knowledge; we would separate ourselves from evil and pursue good; we would diligently recount all our past offences, and earnestly pursue the path of virtue, ever remembering the blessedness of Heaven and the power of all the Buddhas to deliver and rescue us and all men from

evil. Hitherto we have gone astray, but now we return. Oh ! would that the merciful Kwan-yin would receive our vows of amendment." Here is the worship of a Deity, and the prayer of a great moral and emotional religion. There is nothing to signify the reward of virtue is annihilation ; "to be present with" them are not words or meaning that could be addressed to an image or carved idol. Whatever the form of worship may be, the worship in the heart is to the "Omnipotent and Omniscient" and Invisible.

So far from idol worship being part of the Buddhist doctrine, we learn that Aryadeva (who came from the Monastery of Nālanda, near Gaya) found in a temple of Mahēswara in the south of India an idol, whose eyes were made to work by machinery; and going up to it he destroyed the eyes saying : "A spirit is spiritual ! What then is this contemptible object ? A spirit by his spiritual power should influence men to seek wisdom, &c." The worship in China of the "Great and Compassionate" one is part of the Northern Buddhism, brought from India through the intervention of Ming Ti, Emperor of the Han Dynasty, A.D. 62. The idea then, together with the fables of a Western Paradise, and the glory of Amitābha, was derived from Persian or Parthian sources and afterwards incorporated in the North Buddhist system. Kwan Yin is called The High, The Pure, The Strong ; and these are the attributes of the Persian (or rather Accadian) Amahita. This transference of the Persian Ardhvi-Sûra-Amahita to the Buddhism of India forms the radical difference between it and the Buddhism of Ceylon. While old and sound theories, derived from healthy sources, were introduced into Northern Buddhism, the additions made to the Southern, derived from the Tamils, were of a degraded and most revolting character. The Tamils, a degraded and superstitious race, occupied the northern part of Ceylon, and infected the southern population, *i.e.*, the Singhalese, with superstitions, teaching them to believe in devils and ghosts, and so the Buddhism of the South became a hybrid and corrupt product.

In the article on Singhalese Buddhism we find not only the question, "What then did Gautama do?" but the reply to it: he "cast out elements which were truest and best." "The idea of a Supreme Being, of a personal soul, these hard to reconcile with the idea of an endless series of existences and a mechanical Karma, impossible to reconcile with the utter cessation of existence, had to be dropped; and the practice of sacrifices, which witnessed to the responsible character of action, and the possibility of atonement—ideas utterly irreconcilable with *Karma* and with non-personality—had to be fought against." Before considering how far this is a truthful representation of the idea, we draw attention to the oversight of a Christian impugning Gautama for the abolition of sacrifices, when this was done by Christ himself. We have already glanced into the idea of the Supreme Being and of the *personal soul*—which latter theory formed the basis of Buddhism; and now we come to the "endless series of existences and a mechanical Karma." If the system of Gautama is regarded as "consistent," that is certainly more than the criticism upon it is. In a preceding paragraph it is stated that the doctrine of the series of births, &c., and the doctrine of action as a mechanical cause, distinguishable into merit and demerit, existed independent of Gautama; and now that he abolished the practice of sacrifices, because it was irreconcilable with Karma and the idea of non-personality, as if either he had introduced the Karma theory, or as if the two irreconcilable methods had formerly existed together. However, the discarding of the idea of a personal soul, because it conflicted with the doctrine of Karma, is the *reductio ad absurdum* of misrepresentation. The doctrine of Karma is based on the theory that every bad action must be wiped out in this life or the next by the sinner *himself*. The hardness of attainment and apparent impossibility of Buddhist holiness lies in this doctrine of free will and responsibility of action. If there is no personal soul, what is to benefit by the good or evil actions committed? The next birth depends on the in-

dividual career in this life. Some Christians say we shall be born again in a place of happiness or a place of torment ; so say the Buddhists. Only they say also that we are so imperfect, we must go through a series of probationary lives, before we are fitted for the higher heaven. The good in us is not sufficiently developed : the Eternal Essence is not free enough from clay. Sir John Davis remarks, " This method of *keeping a score* with heaven is as foolish and dangerous a system of morality as that of penance and indulgence in the Romish Church." Nevertheless, here lies the system—for every good or evil deed a man commits, for it that man shall suffer or rejoice.

It is doubtful to most students of Buddhism that the hostility between Gautama Buddha and the Brahmins has been so much exaggerated. It seems to have been forgotten that Gautama incurred the enmity of the Brahmins by (I.) disparaging their sacred books, sacrifices and austerities, and (II.) by teaching the equality of mankind as opposed to the great doctrine of caste. The Brahmins were always hostile to Buddhists, though the latter were not always hostile to the former, possibly through the Buddhist creed being " toleration."

Buddhism seeks no Absorption. This is startling ! About as much so, as to say Christianity has no doctrine of atonement. What in the world is it all about then ? What is to become of the omniscience in each man which Buddha taught ? Is space to be peopled by myriads of diminished gods, who were once men, or is the Supreme mind not eternal ? The subject is too enormous to go into, and the difficulties are added to by the incapability of the Western mind to grasp the Eastern ideas. In the *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures* Mr. Beal tells us that " many of the Sûtras consist of the one-idea, that there is but one nature, to which all other natures must in the end return ; and this " return," or " ultimate union," is the perfection of the one nature of Buddha." We read, " Gautama says: There is no being at all that is not illusory." Now there is no record of Gautama

having used these words, and it is in direct opposition to his teaching. The thought runs through and underlies his precepts that what you do not see, exists; what you do see, does not exist. It was the transience of all apparent existence and all things connected with matter, that he considered the cause of suffering, and his mission was to teach the way—the Fourfold Path—to attain *permanence*. In the latest of the expanded Sûtras, Mahâ pari Nirvâne Sûtra, the four characteristics of Nirvana are stated to be, *permanence, joy, personal existence, purity*, and Gautama recited these in order to illustrate the three eternal truths, which are supreme wisdom, complete deliverance, the essential body; pointing out to all that the countless forms of life resolve themselves into the one invariable nature. If the essential body, that is, the body not seen, of the Essence, the Non-Ego, is an eternal truth that he taught, he could never have said or implied, "There is no being that is not illusory." The *complete deliverance* is from all things transient, the cause of sorrow, all matters connected with Ego, the human and non-eternal I, whose creations, made through the essential power, are destructible and inseparable from sorrow. The cause of all suffering, according to Gautama, was the transience, or impermanence of existence, meaning by existence all that is, and can be conceived of life by Ego—the human individual. Youth passes to old age, health to sickness, vigour to infirmity, wealth to poverty, success to misfortune. This is life, but this is nothing, he says: free yourself from love of them (of existence) and you will attain supreme wisdom. The Supreme Being values them not, for he sees what you do not see. Free yourself from the love of all that has the appearance of existing, and then you will see all that is not made, the things that *are*; you will become perfect by casting off all that you—the human individual—have created, all that is destructible and false, all that in its small conception can but conceive I, *Ego*, and therefore engenders love of self; and attain to the personal essential body, which, seeing all things,

is fit for the Eternal Rest (Nirvana). You escape the series of births, with its inseparable sorrow, necessary to perfect you for your return to the one nature, by attaining to the knowledge that *Ego*—the human self—is illusory, and all existence connected with it rapid, transitory, and that true existence is what you do not see, and reality what you do not feel. Is this a creed, that “there is no being that is not illusory”? if it appears to us in that light, we place ourselves on the intellectual level of those who believe breathing is living! Have we, in A.D. 1890, not attained the knowledge that humanity is dust, and “to dust it shall return,” and that the inconceivable *is*? At any rate, these heathens (?) did not fashion their god in the image of man; he was the Essence to them, that they should see when they were also essence and not man. Their images in the temples, mostly of Buddhas, *i.e.*, enlightened ones, men who had attained omniscience, were symbols of contemplation, as other churches have representations and crosses to symbolise worship. They believed that contemplation freed the soul from its earthly clog, and then it grasped the eternal truths and attained Nirvana. The Bible, a work of Lau'tsy (B.C. 517) declares, “To be constantly passionless is to see the spiritual essence; to be constantly passionate is to see the forms (or limits).” The phrases, “constantly passionless,” and “constantly passionate,” denote *non-existence* and *existence*. It is hard to enter, especially in a cursory manner, into the intricacies of this doctrine. The Christian sees it so much through his own colouring, and has a kind of “My God or no God” theory: also the Buddhist canons cannot be taken literally any more than the Holy Scriptures that bear so many interpretations. Then Buddha's teaching had to be suited to his age, and to the understanding of the believers of the already accepted religion. We could not argue with a Chinese as with an Englishman: the metaphysical and material cast of mind form very different adversaries; and all this is worthy of consideration in reviewing Gautama's parables and teachings. To say Buddhism is

Atheism is undoubtedly false, but to represent it as Pantheism is somewhat nearer the truth, if not exactly accurate. S. B. Gould says (*Origin and Development of Religious Belief*), "I know not how to express the reiteration of this belief found in Chinese Buddhist books better than in the few words attributed to Zwinglius, who taught '*That God was the Infinite essence, absolute Being* (*τὸ Ἔσσε*). The being of creatures,' he said, 'was not opposed to the Being of God, but was in and by Him—not man only, but all creation was of Divine race. Nature was the force of God in action, and everything is One.'" This, perhaps, accounts for the Buddhist idea that a man's soul, the essence, can pass into the body of an animal, which tradition (for it is by no means an integral part of the doctrine) is seized on by calumniators and distorted into, "To Buddhism all life is one; he who was a god, may be now a brute and afterwards may be a man," which is the most absolute nonsense a sane man ever uttered.

The Buddhist doctrine has also been likened to the Quietists, who said "There was a Divine light hid in the soul": compare the remark of Bayle, "The end to which Plotinus directed his thoughts was to unite himself to the Great God; he attained it by the *unitive* method of the Quietists" (*Critical Dict.*, art. Plotinus). Now the "unitive method" spoken of is precisely that of the Buddhists, "*wou yih nim*," "not one single reflection"—*i.e.*, shut out all active thought, and by a passive absorption the soul is rapt into the Divine Essence. The difficulty of defining the "absolute" has been always acknowledged. "Imo vero me nihil aliud quam dicere voluisse sentio. Si autem dixi, non est quod dicere volui. Hoc unde scio, nisi quia Deus ineffabilis est." (Augustine, *De Doct.*] *Christ.*) So also Justin Martyr declares that God is not only above all *names*, but above all *existence* (*ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας*); and yet he elsewhere speaks of the *οὐσία* of God, but as entirely distinct from mundane existence. Clement of Alexandria shows very plainly (*Strom.* vii., p. 689) that we can attain to a clear

idea of God only by laying aside (*δι' ἀναλυσέως*) all finite ideas of the Divine Nature, till at last nothing but the abstract idea of unity remains. Again, John of Damascus (*De Fide Orthod.*, i. 4) says distinctly God does not come under the category of *things*: and it is only by way of negation, *δι' ἀφαίρεσέως*, that we can acquire any knowledge of his attributes. Aquinas proved that there can be no "cognitio quidditativa" of God. And this we find in the Buddhist writings; the 21st chapt. of the Vajra Chhedika is headed thus: "On the impossibility of expressing this system of philosophy by any words: that which can be so expressed is not agreeable to this body of doctrine"; and in the chapter this remark occurs: "If a man say that Tathāgata has a definitely spoken system of doctrine, that man does but malign Buddha, for the law which I declare cannot be explained in words. Subhūti! That law which can be explained in words is no law, it is but an empty name." If we remember (Prof. Beal tells us) that the word "Law" (*dharma*) means a condition of being, or existence, we here have the secret of the whole system stated in plain words, viz.: That the condition of being, which admits of verbal definition, is not a *real* condition, it is but an empty expression. From this it follows that there is an ineffable condition, which, although not to be described, nevertheless *exists*. And in the 26th cap. of the Vajra Chhedika Sūtra, entitled "The mystical body of Tathāgāta, without any distinct characteristic," there is this statement:—"He who looks for me, *i.e.*, for the true Tathāgata, through any material form, or seeks me through any audible sound, that man has entered on an erroneous course, and shall never behold Tathāgata." One cannot quote further from the accumulation of evidence on this point; all of which tends to prove the falsity of the statement that Gautama taught "There is no being that is not illusory."

"Buddhism seeks no heaven" is another revelation to Buddhist students. It is a curt statement, both true and untrue; metaphysical problems bear multitudinous lights;

but it is an unjust misrepresentation to specify an occult theory in the Baedeker style, for the information of tourists, not even in the realm of thought. "Buddhism seeks no heaven" bears the impression, to the indifferent, that their goal is earthly, and, when this life is over, it is all done. That is materialism, and Buddhism is a spiritual science, therefore that colouring is entirely false. Buddhists seek no heaven, because as one of them aptly answered, "we have it." Buddha means the "enlightened one," one who has attained supreme wisdom, that is happiness, otherwise heaven. Buddhism is the attainment of heaven, which they call Nirvana (Rest), cessation of turmoils and troubles. Buddha's very task was to search out the cause of suffering and destroy it, and to teach the way to peace and bliss. But the difference to the European idea is, that peace and bliss are attainable *here*; it is not a place drawn by the finite imagination, in the dim hereafter, but a present state for the soul, although it is now hidden and invisible to the human sight. The beatitude of God's nature, which formed the essential body in each man, they considered heaven. They did not "seek" it without, they sought it within, and Buddhism, correctly speaking, does not *seek* it, it rather accepts it or has it. It has it in the separation of Ego, the human individual, from the Non-Ego, the personal essence. What belongs to the Essence is heaven, rest, joy, &c., and the Buddhist theory is, that by the development of the inner essence we commingle with the essence without and therefore attain indescribable bliss. It is no perfection of joys conceivable by the human mind, which it expects to reach when its humanity is past, that the metaphysical student places as his goal.

The other side of the question is, that the Buddhist Nirvana (heaven) means annihilation. That he leads a laborious virtue-pursuing life that he may the sooner be released from labour and become "blotted out." That method would work as well as for a man condemned to do a certain amount of labour, and to be executed as soon as he accomplished it. Is it in accordance with reason that he

would work doubly hard, exhaust his strength, and deny himself pleasures to hurry on the day of execution? The mere aim of annihilation would not make pure, noble, self-denying workers, such as Buddhists, real not professing, are. Certainly Materialists have led the most moral and upright lives, but Buddhists are not Materialists: they believe in the Spiritual Essence and the Great Being, who is not I. Buddhists all picture their heaven—that is, the heaven of the hereafter, not the heaven of the present—as differently as the Christians do. They may all formulate differently their ideas of perpetual bliss, but that does not make them less virtuous, less religious.* Volumes have been filled with discussions upon Nirvana, which it would be useless and profitless to reproduce here. We can only remark that it is the popularly accepted theory that Nirvana is, exemption from all trouble, the cessation of all existence—the existence inseparable from sorrow, the existence conceivable by the finite mind—and is the state of being which rewards virtue. It is emphatically a *state*, a condition of the soul or essence here, which that essence will attain to permanently when freed from matter. We learn from Asvaghosha and other sources that Buddha attained Nirvana in the Stork Garden (some time after his enlightenment under the Bôdhi tree): That “he passed through every stage of mental absorption until he reached the nature of the one true condition of being.” Every tradition and legend of Buddha relates that he attained Nirvana in this life, therefore it cannot be *extinction*, with the same meaning of the term as we recognise, for he went on living and preaching afterwards. In the Vinaya Mahâ Vagga Buddha is reported to have said, “Priests, I have achieved the invaluable (*vimutti*) Nirvana by my mental meditation and by my mental exertion.” There was no way B.C. 600

* Every Buddhist acknowledges that a difference of opinion as to what Nirvana is can no more interfere with the salvation which he seeks than a misapprehension alone as to a Christian's heaven can deprive him of his.—*J. & Alwis.*

of attaining heaven but by virtuous conduct or exertion.* Max Müller says, "The Buddhist Nirvana is one acquired in this very life (Dhammapada, v. 89). How then *nothing*? The ideas of being and not being do not admit of discussion." And from the same authority we have, "If we consider that Buddha himself, after he had already seen Nirvāna, still remains on earth until his body falls a prey to death; that in the legends Buddha appeals to his disciples even after his death; it seems to me hardly reconcilable with the orthodox metaphysical doctrines of Nirvana." In the Visudd Nimagga Tikā by Dhammapadā we read, "If Nirvana be simply abhava or nonentity, there is no necessity" to talk of its being "profound," &c., as in the passage, *It is profound, difficult of perception and of comprehension; that it scares Kilesa, is rich, is not easily realized by logical deduction, is keen or piercing and is only adapted to the learned; and, That which is not made, or that which is the destruction of the cause.* It conveys a sense of form; but there is no such condition appertaining to nonentity. Nonentity is nonentity itself: how can it possess any profundity, &c.? As the word of Buddha, which is not tortuous (in sense, e.g.)—that all elements of existence are transient; that all states of existence are attended with sorrow; and that all things are not identical with self—conveys some object of sense, so does the word Nirvana." Max Müller, quoting from a MS. (Sanskrit) in Bodleian Library, asks, "What does it mean when Buddha, in v. 21, calls, 'Reflection the path to immortality, thoughtlessness the path of death'?" "If the goal," he adds, "to which the followers of Buddha have to aim, had been in the mind of Buddha, perfect annihilation, amata, i.e., *immortality*, would have been the very last word he would have chosen as its name." Abhidamma, which favours annihilation, has no authority, and contains the notions, not of Buddha, but of his followers. Max Müller

* "The bhikshu who acts with kindness (full of delight), who is calm in the doctrine of Buddha, will reach the quiet place (Nirvāna): cessation of natural desires and happiness."—(Dhammapada.)

says, "If we look into Dhammapada at every passage where Nirvāna is mentioned, there is not one which would require that its meaning should be annihilation; while most, if not all, would become perfectly unintelligible if we assigned to the word Nirvāna the meaning which it has in the Abhidhamma, or the metaphysical portions of the Canon." Annihilation, or extinction of the soul, is certainly not Buddhism, any more than the theory man is without spiritual essence (soul) is Buddhism.

While treating of the Buddhist heaven, and considering it, according to their philosophy, a metaphysical condition, we must not forget the legendary Western Paradise. There appear to be two accounts of the origin of this "happy land." One, that Socotra in the earliest times was regarded as an "island of paradise" (see W. Golemscheff, "*Sur un ancien conte égyptien*," in the *Verhandlungen des fünften internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses*, Zweiter Theil, p. 112), and the Arab sailors brought their knowledge of the "God who hears" to Ceylon and identified him with Aralokitesvara. Also pointing to the Western sea dyed with the sun's rays as he sank downwards, they would speak of the Paradise there and the neighbouring coast of Pun't, where frankincense and gold and myrrh were found and all things were "happy" and "abundant." This theory, however, was not adopted in Ceylon, and seems now not known there. Wassiljew (*Der Buddhismus*, s. 121) hazards the remark that the idea of a Western Paradise was introduced by foreigners, with whom the Buddhists of Southern India were brought into contact. It was here (South India) the doctrine took firm hold, wherever derived from, and afterwards made its way into China, A.D. 526, through Bodhidharma, the 28th patriarch and the founder of the contemplative school. With respect to Bodhidharma, there is a legend still existing in China, which exemplifies his belief in the doctrine of a Western Heaven, "for as he lay in his coffin (we are told) he held one shoe in his hand. While in this position, his

remains were visited by a celebrated priest called Sung-yun, who asked him where he was going, to which he replied : 'To the Western Heavens.' Sung-yun then returned home ; but afterwards the coffin of Bodhidharma was opened and found empty, except for one of his shoes, which still remained. By Imperial command this shoe was preserved as a sacred relic. Afterwards in the Tang dynasty it was stolen, and no one now knows where it is."

Professor Beal tells us, "It is a question of some importance at what time this belief incorporated itself with Buddhism. In fixing the period we may be certain that it was before the date of Kumārajira, *i.e.*, A.D. 400 ; and if it be correct that the Chinese translation of the 'Wou-liang-shen-king,' *i.e.*, the Sūtra of Amitābha, under the name of the 'Eternal,' dates from the Han dynasty (Edkins), we may go back to the first century, A.D., as the latest admissible date for the origin of this belief." Here is a description of the Western Paradise believed in by the Buddhists, whose life is likened to a Christian's dog. Extract and translation from Amitābha Sūtra : "Thus have I heard. On a certain occasion Buddha was residing at Srāvastī, in the garden of Kīṭa, with the great Bhikṣus! 250 in all, being great Rāhats, possessed of perfect knowledge, to wit, the venerable Śāriputra, the great Maudgalyāyana, &c., &c. At this time Buddha addressed the venerable Śāriputra as follows:—In the Western regions, more than one hundred thousand myriads of systems of worlds beyond this, there is a Sakwala named Sukhavatī. Why is this region so named? Because all those born in it have no griefs, no sorrows : they experience only unmixed joys. Therefore it is named the infinitely happy land. Again, Śāriputra, this happy region, is surrounded by seven rows of ornamental railings, seven rows of exquisite curtains, seven rows of waving trees, hence again it is called the infinitely happy region. Again, Śāriputra, this happy land, possesses seven gemmous lakes, in the midst of which flow waters possessed of eight distinctive qualities (*viz.*, limpi-

dity and purity, refreshing coolness, sweetness, softness, fertilizing qualities, calmness, power of preventing famine, productiveness of abundance). Spreading over the bottom of these lakes are golden sands, whilst the four sides have pleasant walks enriched with gold, silver, crystal, lapis lazuli, beryl, ruby and corne-
lian. In the midst of the lakes are lotus-flowers large as a chariot-wheel, blue, yellow, red, and white, each reflecting brilliant hues of its own colour, and possessed of the most perfect and delightful fragrance. Thus, O Sāriputra, this blessed region is perfected and thoroughly adorned. Again, Sāriputra, the land of that Buddha ever shares in heavenly delights (or music), the ground is resplendent gold, at morning and evening showers of the Divine Udambara flower descend upon all those born there, at early dawn the most exquisite blossoms burst out at their side." And so on. This belief in a place not unlike the Christian's heaven is widely spread—in fact, is accepted as part of the Buddhist doctrine throughout China.

We are informed, by those adverse to Buddhism, that the doctrine is nothing but a "eulogy of virtue," and there is an "absence of any conspicuous examples of heroism!" Gautama's life teems with them. His life itself is an example. He gave up his kingdom and personal happiness to find rescue from sorrow for suffering men. One example, among millions, we cite in passing, in connection with the Western Paradise. Shang-Tih, a contemplative priest of Ping-chau, so longed for the Western Paradise, that he devoted his life to purity and religion and to teaching the law of Buddha. He laboured for men's conversion: and wishing to go to Mid-India he left the Malaya country and embarked in a merchant ship to go by sea. Being overtaken by a storm, the ship began to founder, and the captain, being a believer and anxious to save the priest, called to him to come on board the little boat they were all struggling to get into. But Shang-Tih replied, "I will not come; save the other people." He remained silently absorbed, his hands clasped in

adoration, and, gazing towards the West, he repeated the sacred name of Amati (all-glorious one), until the ship went down. One of his followers also perished with him, calling on the name of Amati-Buddha. I do not think even the Christian missionaries, known in India as "the white men who keep pony-carriages for their wives," could do more than this. There is something truly poetic, as well as religious, in the thought of sinking to rest with the last glorious rays of the setting sun.

The Bishop of Colombo criticizes the grammatical derivation of "Tathāgato." This was an old contention in the days of Rémusat. Professor Beal says: "Surely it is set at rest by the undeviating testimony of the Indian pandits who translated the Indian books brought into China. They always rendered it by 'Ju-lai,' the 'rightly come,' deriving the Sanscrit word from Tathā and āgatha, and there is no reasonable doubt that is the true explanation of the compound." H. Childers, in his Pāli Dictionary (*s.v.*), compares the title to the Christian expression, "the Son of Man." Other authorities suggest that if Childers had recognised the full meaning of his parallel phrase, and translated it "the Son of *the* man," as it ought to be rendered, his observation would have had more force: because the expression "the rightly come," or "he whose right it is to come," may really be the survival of a belief in one who "was to come." The Shiloh (as-her-lō) "whose right it was," or "to whom it belonged (to be a teacher)"; and through many families and strange survivals, this trust in the "coming one" handed down from the earliest times, might have found its way as a witness to the truth, into the early traditions of Buddhism, and marked its connection with the original family to which God's plan of redemption was revealed.

We owe much of the morality and civilization of the world to the life of renunciation and self-sacrifice of Gautama Buddha. He was no Anti-Christ, as some of his violent adversaries appear almost to insinuate; he lived

and preached six centuries before Christ, and in the corrupt customs and religion of his age, a doctrine so pure and noble, and in such proximity to the truth, that we who have had all things disclosed to us, and a weight of accumulative evidence in our hand, look in admiration and wonder at the light that still shines from this teacher of dark ages. The Chinese, amongst whom Buddhism took deep root, are recorded as the most religious people of past centuries. The first Emperor Ching Tang of the Shang Dynasty, B.C. 1766, paid worship to "Shangtien Hao" (High Heaven's Ruler), and we read in S. Wells Williams' "Middle Kingdom": "Human sacrifices are offered to this day in Asia, Africa, and Polynesia . . . but no clear record of the sacrificial immolation of man by his fellow 'offering the fruit of his body for the sin of his soul' has been found in Chinese annals in such a shape as to carry the conviction that it formed part of the belief and practice of the people. This feature, negative though it be, stands in strong contrast to the appalling destruction of human life for religious reasons, still existing among the tribes of Central and Western Africa, and recorded as having been sanctioned among Aztics and Egyptians, Hindus and Carthaginians, and other ancient nations, not excepting Syrians and Jews, Greeks and Romans." And the Emperor of the Chinese sent messengers to India to learn the Buddhist doctrine and the people accepted it.

The Bishop of Colombo alludes to the character claimed by Buddha as "the highest of men," but he observes, "And he does not imply anything we mean by God." Prof. Beal says, "What we mean by God is the result of cumulative historical evidence. If the history of the Jews were cancelled, or wiped out, we should have no idea of the real significance of the personality of God. How, then, does the Bishop expect the Founder of Buddhism, or his followers, to enter into the meaning of the name of the Almighty? We are told, by Spence Hardy, that the Buddhists of Ceylon blaspheme

the name of "Jehovah," just as Ernest Rénan speaks of "Jahve" as "monstrously partial"—"the favourite God of David in his successes, but a foe of all the enemies of David." It should be remembered that the idea of a Supreme Deity is not derived from definition, but from the continuously increasing evidence of history. To say then that Buddha does not claim to be "God" in one sense is not to the point. He dethroned Indra and Brahma, and the hierarchy of the false heavens, and so left the matter: He did not claim to be God in our sense of the word; he was ignorant of such a conception; such a God was unknown to him; but he rose far above the conception of foregoing generations, and left the idea of the true God to be preached by the messengers of another Revelation.

Let us not detract from the merits of these noble seekers after the White Goddess of Truth. Pure doctrine will harm no creed; virtuous precepts injure no religious theory. We, so blessed and enlightened in the year of grace 1890, should not own the "mean and grovelling spirit," as to see no good in anything but ourselves. We, millions of beings, are not called on for self-sacrifice and renunciation of princely kingdom and earthly happiness, but let us honour those who were, and remember virtuous conduct and noble creeds of toleration have worked before our day, and may now work with us. If we hold that the Truth is ours, and that we only know the righteous path, unknown before, then let be—

Truth needs no armed hand,
No martyred band;
Its blazing banner, in peace unfurled,
Must ever captivate the world.

HELEN GRAHAM MCKERLIE.

REVIEWS.

Representative Men of India.

IN this gorgeous and magnificent volume, Mr. Sorabji Jehangir, chief magistrate in the state of Baroda, has collected the lives of some of the most representative men of India, and he has done them the further service of preserving their features in photographs by the permanent Woodbury process. ["Representative Men of India, a Collection of Memoirs, with Portraits of Indian Princes, Nobles, Statesmen, Philanthropists, Officials, and Eminent Citizens," by SORABJI JEHangIR, Chief Magistrate of Baroda. With an introduction by Sir George C. M. Birdwood, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. (London : W. H. Allen and Co.)] There are 44 sketches in the present book, and the author states that it is his intention to complete the series in a subsequent volume. Among the most prominent persons described may be named the Nizam, the Gaekwar, the Thakore of Bhaunagur, Lord Northbrook, the Rao of Kutch, Sir Asman Jah, Sir Dinshaw Manockjee Petit, Sir Munguldas Nathoobhoy, &c. Most of the biographies are well done, and contain interesting matter. Of course it could not be expected in a work of this character that there would be any attempt at independent criticism, or that any other note would be heard than one of laudation. But, in varying the expression of praise, Mr. Sorabji Jehangir shows no inconsiderable skill and tact, and his work will stand the test of being treated as a biographical book of reference, as well as a mere handsome ornament for the drawing-room table. The motives which led to the preparation of this work appear to be laudable, and have certainly found an eloquent exponent in Sir George Birdwood, who

has been induced to contribute a brilliant introduction to Mr. Sorabji Jehangir's work. The characteristic story told on pages x., xi., should certainly not be overlooked. Fortunate in his introduction, Mr. Sorabji Jehangir is still more fortunate in having obtained Her Majesty's permission to dedicate his book to the Queen-Empress of India. •

The Diary of a Mahomedan Noble.

If it is sometimes well to see ourselves as others see us, the survey cannot be performed in more pleasant and friendly companionship than with the Nawab Mehdi Hassan, Home Secretary to the Nizam, who has been kind enough to send us a copy of the diary he kept during his visit to England. We must first compliment the Nawab upon the extent of his observations, and the general accuracy of his statements and conclusions. He really seems to have seen London and its varied life in a manner that no other foreigner, and especially an Oriental, ever did before, and not merely to have seen but to have appreciated the relative importance of strange facts and figures. We are quite sure that the Nawab's diary will not merely stimulate many of his countrymen and co-religionists with the desire to visit this country, but that it will supply them with much accurate information about the land and people they would see. We began by saying that we would take a survey of ourselves with the aid of Nawab Mehdi Hassan, but we fear if we did so we should be accused of self-glorification. We can only hope that we deserve half what the Nawab is so amiable as to say about us. One or two references may be made to certain passages which will show how shrewdly he noted some of our idiosyncrasies which do not lie on the surface, and which might easily have escaped a casual observer. The Nawab notes our independence, each person depending on his working abilities and qualities; then again our social ex-

clusiveness, people sometimes living next door to one another for years without making one another's acquaintance; and finally that public opinion in England is like many thousands of people reading the leading articles and forming their own opinions. It struck him as remarkable that "even a poor man in rags should have a decided opinion on political topics." The Nawab was evidently much impressed with the size of London, the abundant proof of extreme wealth, the independence shown by the individual English citizen, and above all the charms of the social intercourse of the upper and educated classes. If the Nawab will allow us to say, in return for all the compliments he has paid us, that he has put down his opinions and reflections in a very clear and graceful manner, we shall only be recording the plain truth.

Lady Dufferin's Journal.

THE selections from the journal kept by the Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava during the Viceroyalty of her husband, give a very simple and, at the same time, a very graphic narrative of events in India between 1884 and 1888. ["Our Viceregal Life in India; Selections from my Journal, 1884-8," by the Marchioness of DUFFERIN and AVA. Two vols. (John Murray, London).] No one will attempt to dispute that Lord Dufferin's tenure of power was marked by many striking and picturesque incidents which will give it a prominent place in Anglo-Indian history. The Ameer's visit to Rawul Pindi, the treason at Bhopal, the annexation of Burmah, and the Nizam's offer, were each and all events that do not occur in the time of any humdrum Governor-General. Lord Dufferin's rule presents many features out of the common, and that attract public attention. This being the case, a more agreeable and authoritative chronicler could not be expected than the charming lady, who, if she did not share the secrets of

the Cabinet, lent an unusual grace to the dispensations of Viceregal hospitality and display at Simla and Calcutta. The volumes are brimful of interesting matter which should be read by everyone inclined to pry into the mysteries of life in India ; but we must make room for the following description of the Ameer as a fair sample of the interesting contents of this volume :

"The Ameer is in great good humour, and almost wants to go on to England. He himself is a stout man, not very tall, and suffering either from gout, rheumatism, or Russian boots, so that he walks lame. He and the Viceroy, an interpreter, our Foreign Secretary and his, sat in a tent, carefully guarded on all sides, and then they discussed matters for three hours. The Ameer took a good deal of snuff, but had no other refreshment. All that passed is wrapped in mystery, and D. only told us that after he had explained the English intentions, and propounded our views upon the Afghan question, he said to the Ameer, 'And now what are your proposals and opinions?' upon which the great man replied, 'I don't think that is a fair question.' . . . I must tell you one nice gentle little trait in the Ameer's character. He spent three hours yesterday morning arranging cut flowers in forty vases, and he expressed a wish to have large supplies sent him daily ; and this is the man who cuts off heads and hangs people when at home, and who is accompanied now by his executioner, who dresses in red velvet, and wearing his axe and strangling rope, helps at other times to put up the tents."

Russia in Central Asia.

MR. GEORGE CURZON has produced one of the most interesting volumes ever written about the Central Asian question. ["Russia in Central Asia in 1889 and the Anglo-Russian Question," by the Hon. GEORGE CURZON, M.P. With Appendices, Maps, and Illustrations. (Longmans & Co., London, 1889.)] It combines the best features of a book of travels and a historical treatise. Mr. Curzon travelled by the Trans-Caspian railway ; he visited the Holy City of Bokhara and Samarcand, the capital of Timour ; and he returned to write one of the most graphic, detailed, and varied works that it has been our privilege to see. We are not quite sure whether the work

will be deemed more attractive as a volume of travels or as a political exegesis of much weight and moment. In either respect the reader will not be disappointed with its contents or with Mr. Curzon's mode of treatment. The Tomb of Timour at Samarcand, the recognised position of Bokhara as the capital of Islam in Central Asia, provide Mr. Curzon with opportunities for word-pictures, of which he readily avails himself. The two most serious questions he raises are the commercial competition of Russia and England in Central Asia and the future of Afghanistan. On the former subject we are entirely in accord with him; but in regard to the latter we are disposed to take a more favourable view, and to hold that it is our right policy to stand by the integrity of Afghanistan, apart from whatever divisions or difficulties may beset the Ameer. Mr. Curzon writes with much of the caution of a man who feels that before long he may be called on to deal with the question as one of our legislators, and this may explain why he observes so guarded a tone on the subject of our responsibilities towards Afghanistan. On a question of academic rather than practical importance, viz., the consistency of Russia's designs upon India since Peter the Great formulated them, we should not form the same conclusions as Mr. Curzon; but after all these are minor points that do not obscure the great value and weight of his contribution to Central Asian literature. Mr. Curzon is believed to possess a most promising political future, and it is particularly gratifying to us to find that he has formed such clear views on the Central Asian question, and that he does not hesitate to express them in a plain and unequivocal manner.

One Thousand Miles on an Elephant.

MR. HOLT S. HALLETT has crowned his numerous efforts in the cause of developing Indo-China, and connecting

India and China by railway with a most vivid and informing work describing his principal tours in Siam and the Shan States. ["A Thousand Miles on an Elephant in the Shan States," by HOLT S. HALLETT. (William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London, 1890.)] The book is one that calls for the most careful attention and perusal at the hands of everyone pretending to have an opinion on the subject of the future of Indo-China, which is one of the most important and promising tracts of Asia. It is illustrated by several useful maps showing the interior of the region and the projected railways which are to annihilate space, and to bring Lancashire and Yorkshire goods to the door of every hut on the Upper Menam and Mekong. Mr. Hallett gives a very full and interesting description of these future customers of ours, and there can be no doubt from his and other reports that they occupy a land of much promise. Opinions may differ as to the best and most feasible scheme of tapping its wealth, but no one is better entitled to a respectful hearing on this subject than Mr. Holt S. Hallett, who, with his associate, Mr. A. R. Colquhoun, has done so much towards enlightening us about the countries intervening between India and China, many of which have passed under our control, while others remain subject to France, or in debatable territory between the limits of these two States. It cannot be doubted that the time is very near at hand when Siam will be opened up by means of a line of railway, which will closely follow the course suggested for it by Mr. Hallett, and which will eventually form the main line through the Shan States to China. Mr. Hallett must not allow himself to be discouraged because the Burmese administration have sanctioned lines in Upper Burmah that do not exactly dovetail with his elaborate system for Indo-China. The day of direct railway communication with China is not as near as was thought, but it must inevitably come. We may hope that Siam will not be as slow as China in taking advantage of railways, and, when a line has been completed from Bangkok to Raheng, India

will be bound to connect Raheng with Moulmein. We may conclude our notice of this admirable work by quoting Mr. Hallett's opinion of the future of Burmah :—

“Burmah is blessed with a fruitful soil and a bounteous rainfall. It only requires increased population to make it the garden of the East, and every Chief Commissioner, from Sir Arthur Phayre downwards, has advocated its connection with China by railway as the means for supplying that want from the most industrious and enterprising people in Asia, the Chinese.”

As an expression of opinion it must only be observed that the Government of India would prefer to supply this want from Bengal.

Indian Forestry.

DR. SCHLICH gives an interesting sketch of the origin of Indian forestry in his manual of forestry. [“A Manual of Forestry,” by WM. SCHLICH, Ph.D. Vol. I. (London : Bradbury, Agnew and Co., 1889.)] His work is in most respects admirable, and likely to take its place as a standard authority. The learned writer has, however, made what appear to be one or two slips in his description of the commencement of forest conservancy in India, or, at all events, expressed himself in such a manner as to leave it doubtful who were the pioneers of that great work. There cannot be any doubt, however, as to who they were. In 1848 Lieutenant, now Major-General, James Michael was appointed Forest Officer in the Anamalais on the recommendation of Captain Frederick Cotton. From that year until 1855 General Michael was actively engaged in carrying out the first experiment made in India for working and conserving Government forests. It was his successful conduct of that experiment which led to the establishment of a Forest Department. Unfortunately for his future fame, General Michael's health broke down at the very moment when his efforts were crowned with

success, and others had the good fortune to reap where he had sown. To admit this much detracts in no way from the credit due to Dr. Cleghorn and Sir Dietrich Brandis for the excellent work they have done for the cause of Indian forest conservancy during the last thirty years ; but it is an act of unintentional injustice to omit a full acknowledgment of General Michael's share in the inception of one of the most important and successful departments of English administration in India.

A Complete English-Persian Dictionary.

MR. ARTHUR N. WOLLASTON may be cordially congratulated on completing the *magnum opus* upon which he has been engaged during the last sixteen years. [“A Complete English-Persian Dictionary, Compiled from Original Sources,” by ARTHUR N. WOLLASTON, C.I.E. (London : W. H. Allen & Co., Publishers to the India Office, 1889).] The book is not merely a marvel of erudition and labour ; it is adapted to meet the requirements of practical men and everyday life in this busy nineteenth century. Mr. Wollaston has taken Walker and Webster's English Dictionary as the basis of his work, and he has not shrunk from finding, with the aid of Mirza Baker, their equivalent in Persian, although for scientific and botanical terms the corresponding phrases have had to be coined. It can, therefore, be realised how difficult Mr. Wollaston's task, as he defined it to his own inner conscience, must have been ; and the success with which he has brought to conclusion his labours cannot be characterised as otherwise than remarkable, seeing that the Dictionary has not elicited one adverse criticism of a serious character. There can be no doubt that the Dictionary (which appropriately enough is dedicated to Viscount Cross) will place Mr. Wollaston among the first orientalists of the day, and that it will realise his hope of standing the test of time, and being re-

ferred to as the best work extant in its own department of Asiatic literature.

From London to Bokhara.

COLONEL LE MESSURIER gives in this volume an interesting account of his journey to Bokhara in 1887. ["From London to Bokhara and a Ride through Persia," by Colonel A. LE MESSURIER, R.E. (London: Richard Bentley & Son, 1889.)] He had excellent opportunities of judging the strength of the Russian position in Central Asia, and his opinions are well worth consideration. The motto he has selected shows that he has placed limits to the expression of his opinions, but, although he is discreet, his information is none the less abundant and of recent date. He has dedicated his volume to the brilliant Russian officer - General Annenkoff, and it may be assumed that this is intended as a token of admiration for the construction of the Central Asian railway, by which the author was one of the earliest travellers. The two principal subjects treated are that railway and Persia. Colonel Le Messurier agrees with many others, that, if England were to thoroughly exert herself, she would speedily recover the ascendant position in Persia she lost fifty years ago.

Sir John Login and Dhuleep Singh.

In this book Lady Login has essayed a double task—a biography of her late husband, Sir John Login, and a vindication of the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh. She has succeeded in the former and failed in the latter object. ["Sir John Login and Dhuleep Singh," by Lady LOGIN. (London: W. H. Allen and Co.)] Sir John Login was well worthy of a biography. He was certainly the first, and perhaps the only, English

officer to have charge of the health of the inhabitants of Herat, and he took a certain part in the events of the Afghan and Sikh wars of forty odd years ago. When the Punjab was annexed, and the young Maharajah superseded, Sir John Login was appointed guardian to Dhuleep Singh, who came to England to be educated, and to adopt the religion of the new conquerors of India. There can be no doubt that his conversion was sincere, and that his great ambition was to become an English noble, with an expansive income in accordance with the magnitude of his expenditure and the extravagance of his tastes. So long as he was subject to the influence of Sir John Login, who made an admirable guardian, and his successor, Colonel Oliphant, things went smoothly, and the Maharajah was loyal and happy. In 1871 he told Colonel Malleson (who in the Introduction to this work makes an appeal for generosity, renewing one made eighteen months ago in our pages) that he was the happiest of men, and in 1881 that he was the most unhappy. With every wish to be generous to a prince whom we deprived of his power in childhood, we cannot help expressing an opinion that he brought his latest trouble on himself, and that the India Office was disposed to treat him with every consideration. As a matter of hard fact, the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh has only himself to thank for the predicament to which he is now reduced.

Sir Alfred Lyall's Poems.

As becomes an Anglo-Indian poet, the best things in this volume are the verses that relate most especially to India and life in the East. [Verses "Written in India," by Sir ALFRED LYALL. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co.)] Most of the poems have either already seen the light in Indian newspapers, or are known to the friends of the author, and "The Old Pindaree" has always been considered

the happiest effort of the Anglo-Indian muse. "A Rajput Chief of the Old School" is written in very much the same vein. They are both suggested by the inexorable fate which attends those Indian chiefs who will not adapt themselves to the conditions of modern life which, under British auspices, have altered the face of India. Poetry may invest their grievances with the glamour of sentiment, but the hard practice of the world allows them but a scant hearing and no remedy. In "The Land of Regrets" Sir Alfred Lyall dwells upon the disappointing side of a civilian's career. If it has a moral, it is that nothing in this world is without its drawbacks, and that the most prosperous career has its seamy side. Perhaps the two finest poems in the volume relate to the present Amir of Afghanistan. The Amir's "Soliloquy" deals with his political position between England and Russia, while the Amir's "Message" is a letter to a Ghilzai chief inviting him to Cabul, and indirectly throws a bright light on Abdurrahman's mode of keeping his troublesome subjects and recalcitrant chiefs in order. We should like to quote one or other of these poems, but considerations of space preclude our doing so, and a brief extract would give a poor idea of the strength and sweetness of Sir Alfred Lyall's verse. The volume is certainly one to be read in hours of leisure.

The Karun River.

Now that the Karun river has been opened, to use the official phrase, to the commerce of the world, the public will like to know as much about it and the surrounding region as can be learned from authentic sources, and certainly no one is better qualified to give the information than Dr. William Francis Ainsworth, the veteran chronicler of the great Euphrates Expedition of forty years ago. ["The River Karun, an Opening to British Commerce," by WILLIAM FRANCIS AINSWORTH, Ph.D. (London: W. H. Allen & Co.)]

As will be seen from the title, Dr. Ainsworth is a believer in the commercial development of Persia by means of the Karun river, which furnishes a navigable route into some of the richest and most fertile districts of the kingdom ; and he describes the whole of the subject in a very graphic and agreeable manner, under three heads : the river, the mountain passes, and the commercial prospects. One of the facts upon which Dr. Ainsworth very rightly lays most stress is that Persia has been kept in a backward state chiefly by the deficiency of her means of inter-communication. Once they were improved, she would be able to realise her great natural resources and to benefit by them. It is a fact worthy of special note and consideration that, notwithstanding all these impedimenta and hindrances, the trade of England with Southern Persia, *via* the Gulf, exceeds one million sterling. There seems every reason to say with Dr. Ainsworth, of Persia, that it is an "interesting region of vast renown in antiquity, but new to British commerce and British enterprise, to both of which they hold out immeasurable prospects for the future."

The Constitution of Canada.

MR. J. E. C. MUNRO, Professor of Law at Owens College, Manchester, has written a most learned, complete, and withal interesting account of the Constitution of Canada. ["The Constitution of Canada," by J. E. C. MUNRO. (Cambridge : At the University Press.)] The volume may be entitled a survey of the legal aspects of the Constitution in our different colonies. For different reasons, all of much force, Mr. Munro has selected Canada as the subject of his first volume ; but he intends following it up with similar volumes on Australia, South Africa, and the Crown Colonies. The subject is divided under twenty-one heads, which form as many chapters, and treat the whole question of the Canadian Constitution *au fond* from the powers of the Governor-General

to the qualifications of the individual voter. Mr. Munro carefully and discreetly avoids criticism. He does not commit himself to any opinion as to the working of the Constitution, the Imperial control, and many other matters that affect the well-being of Canada, and her connection with the mother country. Mr. Munro has written a most valuable work, which places his name high among our Constitutional writers.

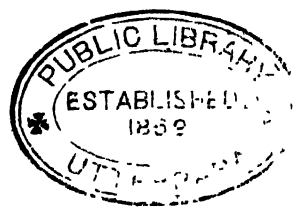
An Arabic Reading Book.

MR. ALAN BIRDWOOD'S Arabic Reading Book supplies a want which students of Arabic have long felt. ["An Arabic Reading Book," by ALAN R. BIRDWOOD. (London: W. H. Allen & Co.)] He states very truly that he "experienced great difficulty in bridging the gulf that exists between the beginner and the advanced reader whose intention it is to become an Arabic scholar." There is indeed little or no assistance available for those who desire to acquire a thorough knowledge of the language, and this is the more serious as Arabic forms such an important factor in the task of administering Egypt. Other students of Arabic have experienced the same difficulty, but it was reserved for Mr. Birdwood to supply the remedy. As the result of much promiscuous reading he collected a mass of notes, and from them he has made the selection which constitutes this volume. The distinguished Arabic scholar, Dr. Steingass, has contributed to the completeness of the volume by transliterating the first part, adding notes elucidating the most striking discrepancies between popular and literary Arabic, and by seeing the book through the press. Mr. Alan Birdwood may be congratulated on having made a good start in his career as an Orientalist, and the best wish we can offer him is that he may be able to tread in the footsteps of his distinguished father.

* * * *Authors are responsible for the spelling of Asiatic names,*

ED. A. Q. R.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF ASIATIC COUNTRIES WITH ENGLISH CAPITAL.

THE Central Asian question, by which we mean essentially the rivalry of England and Russia, and the participation in that conflict of the ancient Empire of China, has entered within the last few months upon a new and remarkable phase. If so recently as ten years ago it had been suggested that the collision of English and Russian arms would be preceded by a pacific, but not less keen commercial contest, the supposition would have been denounced as improbable and far-fetched, when English troops were installed at Cabul, and Russian forces were arrayed on the Bokharan frontier in readiness for a hostile movement south of the Oxus. Yet that such is the case no one who has watched the course of events during the last twelve months and more can possibly doubt. The exploitation of the old continent of Asia has begun, and the capitalists of Europe, who looked askance at anything connected with the Orient, are beginning to realise that Asia may have a future as brilliant and magnificent as its past. By the extent of their territory and their influence, England and Russia are bound to take the foremost part in the task of developing the latent resources of the vast regions entrusted to their care, and of the states contiguous

to or connected with their dominions. But German and other investors will be attracted to this new field of employment and speculation, as soon as it is realised that it holds forth a reasonable promise of remuneration and reward, and it must also be remembered that in one quarter of Asia, viz., Indo-China, we may have to reckon with the energetic and enlightened competition of France.

The moment is, therefore, opportune for considering the schemes and the countries which hold forth the most reasonable promise of a favourable return, and a useful purpose may be served by enumerating the arguments that can be advanced in support of these undertakings, whether as to their feasibility or as to their recompense. The great majority of the countries which we shall indicate as offering a field for the employment of English capital represent virgin soil, and very few indeed of the schemes that claim early consideration have any tangible existence or can be described by any other phrase than being very much in the air. India is of course outside these remarks, and with regard to it there is no necessity to formulate any comprehensive plan for developing its mines, improving its communications, and increasing its industrial and manufacturing activity. But at the same time it is matter of reasonable regret that Indian investments do not find greater favour with English capitalists, for they possess one claim to their consideration that is not possessed by any undertaking subject to alien authority, in that they enjoy the security of being under British protection and government.

Of course it is obvious and well-known that there is a vast sum of English money sunk in India. From an official return published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of October 26th, 1889, it appears that there are in British India joint stock companies with an approximate capital of thirty millions sterling. This sum represents the capital employed in banks, cotton mills, insurance, tea companies, tramways, and three small railways. In addition, there are the twenty millions sunk in the great lines of railway, and the nearly

two hundred millions which constitute the different forms of India stock. To these public investments must be added those made by private individuals, and it is probably no exaggeration to say that there are three hundred millions of English money sunk in one form or other in India. Large as this sum may appear there can be no doubt that, as time goes on, it can be much increased, for every year fresh opportunities of investing money profitably in India are presenting themselves either for the development of the latent resources of the country, or the improvement of its internal communications. From a political point of view also, it is most desirable that Indian investments should find increased favour with us, for not only does every pound sunk in that country render it less likely that our democracy would wish to see our hold upon India withdrawn, but it will serve to bring home to the natives themselves of that country that the advantage they derive from the connection is tangible and calculated to increase with the growth of public confidence.

The question that has to be most carefully considered in the future is how the investment of British capital in India can be judiciously and profitably increased. Several railways, such as those for the development of the flourishing province of Assam, and for the establishment of communication along the east coast of India, have been projected, and are likely to find the public support they seek. But it is not in connection with railways that the most promising opening offers itself for the employment of our reserve capital, which has so long been at the disposal of the American speculator, and so often used to buttress the credit of South American republics and municipalities. In railway enterprise in India the Government must long take the lead, and as Government will not add unnecessarily to its undertakings, the progress made must be slower than would be the case if Indian railways became the favoured toy of the London Stock Exchange. In other directions, and principally in a mining direction, there is freer scope and a

wider prospect for private enterprise. The gold mines of India, which ten years ago were thought to carry a golden argosy for all connected with them, are now, after much bitter disappointment, holding forth a promise of realising early anticipation. The area of possible gold-fields has been much enlarged, and the whole of the Deccan seems likely to be as prolific of the valuable ore as the now-proved-to-be-rich territory of Mysore. Looking further afield there seems valid reason to believe, from the reports of Messrs. Morgans and Lowinski, that the revival of the celebrated diamond industry in Golconda and the Kistna valley is neither improbable nor likely to be long deferred.

But it is with regard to coal that there is the greater need and the greater promise for the large employment of English capital, in developing the vast coal fields in which India abounds. Of these, the two largest and most important in the present are the Singareni coal-field in the Deccan, and the Urumiyah in Central India. The coal from Singareni is proved to be of a highly superior kind, and scarcely, if at all, inferior to English. The supply is enormous, and in a very short time it will be placed at a fair profit in the Bombay market, at a price that will drive English coal from the field. At the present moment it sells for two-thirds of the price paid for coal from Newcastle. The demand for coal in India is already immense; and as new lines are built in India herself, and also in Indo-China, it must increase immensely. Railways, which can only be unprofitable when worked with English coal, will at once become remunerative undertakings, when Indian coal has become available in sufficient quantities at, speaking approximately, half-price. This will be especially the case with regard to Burmah and Siam, when coal can be shipped readily from Cocanada to Rangoon or Bangkok. No Indian undertaking holds forth a better promise at the present moment than the development of such great and thoroughly proved coal-fields, as the Singareni, to which, by the way, it is only fair to add that both the Government of India and

the Government of the Nizam have always attached the very greatest importance.

Apart from India, which is on a different footing from other countries, and which is affected by special considerations, the countries of Asia which are within the legitimate sphere of our influence, and in which English capital, wherever tangible guarantees of security are forthcoming, might be invested to the benefit of national interests, may be named in the following order, Asiatic Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, Upper Burmah, including the Shan States, Siam and China. These countries differ much in their attractiveness as fields of enterprise, and the chief and more immediate value of some of them consists in their lying on the route to more promising countries and centres of trade and population. Under this head the reader will at once place Afghanistan, which, although it contains much hidden wealth and incontestable natural resources, will remain closed to Europeans for some years longer, partly through the character of its people, but still more from the deliberate policy of exclusion adopted by its ruler. If there is no immediate probability of the English public being invited to subscribe to a Ruby Mines Company of Badakhshan, or to a gold syndicate at Cabul, Afghanistan cannot be summarily placed on one side as a country that must remain outside the commercial and social progress which is transforming its former savage neighbours into civilised communities. It lies too advantageously on the route by which India must stretch out her communications westwards to be ignored, even if time should show that the main line from India to Europe had better pass through Beloochistan into the Persian province of Seistan. At enormous expense we have now overcome all the physical obstacles that intervened between the Valley of the Indus and Southern Afghanistan. We have crossed the Scinde desert. We have placed the iron road through the Bolan Pass and on the Hurnai Ridge. Mud Gorge and the Chapar Rift have yielded to the skill and energy of our

engineers ; and as a crowning feat, the formidable Khojak range has been tunnelled, so that our engines are now visible on the plain of Candahar. We have, thus, left behind us those dreary hundreds of miles which have been marked in past Afghan wars by the corpses of myriads of camels.

Having accomplished so much, it is not within the bounds of reason or probability, that we should definitely abandon the long contemplated extension of our railway into Southern Afghanistan. We have no wish to coerce the Ameer into assenting to the prolongation of the Chaman railway to Candahar, if he is either suspicious of our intentions, or sceptical of the value of railways. Unless some sudden emergency were to arise, we could afford to wait until Abdurrahman took a more impartial and enlightened view of the situation, provided we stored the necessary materials and rolling-stock in the Pisheen Valley, for the speedy construction of the section to Candahar, on the first outbreak of hostilities. But apart from railways constructed by the Government of India for strategical reasons, Afghanistan will not, for some years to come, offer a sufficiently attractive field for the employment of English capital. The essential preliminary for the taking up by the public of any schemes for developing its latent resources will be the connection of Candahar with the Indian railway system. If the Ameer were to come spontaneously to the decision to join his southern capital with our advanced post by railway, he would give an enormous impulse to the commercial exploitation of his kingdom, and the claim of Afghanistan on the English investor and speculator would not be less than that of Persia and Asiatic Turkey.

Turning now to the Asiatic dominions of the Sultan, we find that, although there are several undertakings in that part of Asia supported by the investments of and managed by Englishmen, the result is very far from realising the expectations of forty years ago. This is the more

surprising, because the Crimean war left us virtually masters of the field, and if we had seized the opportunity, we could have constructed the railway from the Levant to the Persian Gulf, and probably averted the necessity for the Suez Canal. Lord Palmerston's objections to M. de Lesseps' great scheme rendered his apathy towards the Euphrates Valley railway project all the more remarkable. But there is no practical good in regretting the might-have-been, except in so far as it may incite the Government and public of this country to turn its opportunities in this direction to better account in the future than they have done in the past. The few hundred miles of railway constructed in Asia Minor represent a very inadequate result towards the improvement of communications in the Sultan's eastern dominions, especially as they have been laid down with exclusive regard to local requirements, and not to the provision of a main or trunk line system. Of the existing 384 miles of railway, 284 relate to Smyrna and its environs—two separate lines connecting that important port with Aidin on one side, and Ala Chehir on the other.

Thanks mainly to German initiative and enterprise a new departure has recently been made in railway undertakings in Asiatic Turkey, by the Anatolian Railway Company. This company has taken over the existing line, from Haidar Pacha, a suburb of Scutari, to Ismid, and has undertaken to continue it to Angora, 300 miles inland from Ismid. As the country is both rich and well populated, the prospects of the line are most hopeful; but it is a grave reflection on our intelligence and courage that so obviously necessary and promising an undertaking should be ignored by us for many years, and finally revived only by the action of a German bank and syndicate. Moreover, when revived, its claims to support have found a far more ready acceptance in Berlin than in London, if we accept as a fair criterion of this the fact that the subscriptions in the German capital were thirteen times the required capital, whereas in England they were only four times the requisite amount.

Anatolia is not only one of the most fertile and least developed regions in the world, but it forms the backbone of the Sultan's remaining power. Although we are far more interested in the preservation of Turkey, especially her Asiatic provinces, from Russia than Germany, we do not seem even now to have fully realised the importance of this subject, if the financial support accorded to any scheme be a sufficient test of its place in public esteem. German investors and adventurers deserve all the credit they have earned by being the first to see that a railway starting from the eastern side of the Bosphorus must become the trunk line of Asia as forming the Asiatic prolongation of the European railway system. If we had perceived this a generation ago, we should not have had to wait for the visit of the German Kaiser to Constantinople to know that Turkey is not yet dead, and that the development of her Asiatic provinces, at least, must rank among the most profitable enterprises left to the modern capitalist.

The full recognition of these facts may lead to a clearer perception of our necessities and to wiser action in the future. The railways of Anatolia will in course of time be not only completed to Angora, but continued to Diarbekir, and the enterprise is one well worthy of our constant support, however reluctant we may be to prosecute a work which is due to the initiative of another country. But when the line approaches the important strategical point of Diarbekir, there can be no obscuring its direct value to this country. It is only by means of railway communication with Diarbekir that the defence of Armenia and the Tigris Valley can be contemplated as a feasible operation. But with a railway established from Scutari to Diarbekir, a distance approximately of 850 miles, the possibility of constructing a line from Seleucia or another point in the Gulf of Alexandretta to Aleppo and Diarbekir would be as self-evident as its desirability, especially when it is remembered that the length of such a line would be only half of that from the Bosphorus to Diarbekir. It is much to be hoped

that a perception of these facts will lead to English investors extending greater favour to schemes for the development of Asiatic Turkey, and particularly to railways in the direction of Persia. The resources of that region are not less remarkable, and are certainly better known, than those of many countries of the world where Englishmen have sunk their money and lost it without even the sentimental compensation of having advanced a national interest.

If Asiatic Turkey is entitled to the first place after India in our catalogue of Asiatic countries that call for development, Persia, which offers a newer field for our activity, is certainly not less interesting and promising at the present moment. Until a very short time ago public opinion consigned the kingdom of the Shah to the category of hopeless and irreclaimable countries. Nobody thought seriously that there was any chance of resuscitating its former prosperity, or of permanently excluding Russia from it. It was believed that the Czar had only to ask to receive, and that Persia must inevitably share the fate of Khiva, or at least of Bokhara. Within the last eighteen months a remarkable change has come over the situation and our way of looking at the affairs of Persia. Much of this change was due to the opening of the River Karun to English navigation and the trade of the world, for it seemed that, as the difficulty of communication was the principal obstacle to trade, the existence of a water route for several hundred miles into the interior must create that amount of business which the natural resources of Kuzistan and the wants of the inhabitants of Southern Persia, would lead an observer to expect. Messrs. Lynch, who have been so long associated with English trade in the Persian Gulf, have already placed steamers on the Karun, but their enterprise has not yet been rewarded with the success it deserved, although a persistence in the undertaking must eventually prove profitable to all concerned. The two points necessary to complete the value of the Karun concession are the settlement of the bar difficulty at the rapids of Ahwaz, and

the more energetic co-operation of the Persian officials in giving effect to the spirit as well as carrying out the letter of the Shah's liberal concession. It may however be doubted if any marked progress can be made in this quarter without the railway which must before very long connect Shiraz and probably Ispahan with the Persian Gulf.

If, however, the Karun concession has done something to popularise Persia with Englishmen and to give confidence to the English investor in the future of that country, the establishment of the Imperial Bank of Persia has done a great deal more. Although established little more than six months, it has commenced banking operations at Teheran, Ispahan, Tabriz, and Bushire, under the most auspicious circumstances; and both the merchants and officials, in the semi-official press of Russia, have expressed alarm at the likelihood of this flourishing corporation taking trade away from Russia. It may be observed, *par parenthèse*, that the Czar's Government itself has not given expression to any corresponding feeling of disapproval or apprehension, and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that it might be disposed to make use of the services of the bank itself. The operations of the bank on a large and profitable scale will really commence with the steps taken to develop the undoubted mineral resources of Kuzistan, in regard to which there will now be no delay. Whatever fear may be entertained under present conditions of embarking money in developing Khorasan or in the districts adjacent to the capital, lest the result of our efforts and expenditure should pass to the benefit of Russia, there can be no such dread in connection with the development of Southern Persia, where Russia could not dream of coping with us for a very indefinite period. There we can work mines, construct railways, and improve water communication, without the least risk of our plans being thwarted by hostile intervention or the profits of the undertaking being diverted to somebody else's pocket. The Imperial Bank of Persia is therefore to be regarded as the first step towards regenerating the whole of

Southern Persia. If its affairs are wisely managed it cannot but secure the control of every undertaking south of Ispahan to its own advantage and to that also of the English Government.

There is one connecting chain between the three countries, Asiatic Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan (or possibly British Beloochistan). Their development must greatly facilitate the construction of the main line from Europe to India, which cannot fail to be built either by the governments directly concerned or by individual enterprise. The shortest route, and the one from which Europe generally will derive most benefit, must pass outside Russia and her dependencies. The objections to a Russian railway to India are these: the distance would be unnecessarily increased; the greater portion of the line would be subject exclusively to the power of Russia; and the countries through which it would pass are less productive and promising than those penetrated by the southern and more direct route. There is little doubt that the Anatolian railway is the beginning of the Asiatic trunk line which will eventually bring the 'Indian frontier within a few days' journey of London. The probability of this is increased by the fact that it would be easy to bridge the Bosphorus and thus avoid all breakage of bulk between Calais and Calcutta. The route from Diarbekir to Bagdad is clearly defined, the extension from Bagdad through Southern Persia can be easily sketched in the imagination, but there is still much uncertainty as to the best course for what may be called the purely Indian section of this railway. Whether that section should be laid along the coast from Kurrachee, or through the deserts of Mekran and Seistan, but still through Belooch territory, or farther north via Candahar, Girishk, and Ferrah, with an eye to direct communication with Herat, is a matter that should be considered without unnecessary delay, for as has been said the extension of Indian railways westward can no more be postponed than of those towards the east.

Having taken this hurried survey of the countries west

of India we may turn to those lying east of the peninsula, where the prospect of developing fertile but backward countries, and of reaching new markets in the midst of a numerous population is not less inviting. The exploitation of such a country as Burmah would alone require many millions of money and many years for their judicious expenditure before it would be possible to say that justice had been done to its great and varied resources. Up to the present time all that has been done, over and above the construction of the railway to Mandalay, in this direction is the founding of the Burmah Ruby Mines Company, and the resolution to spend fifty lakhs a year for five years in constructing railways deemed of primary importance. The Ruby Mines have now been made accessible by means of a road from Mogok to Thabeitkyin on the left bank of the Irrawaddy, the arrangements with the native workmen and for the suppression of smuggling have been placed on a more satisfactory basis by the efforts of Sir Lepel Griffin, and the date cannot now be far distant when the mines themselves will give some tangible evidence of their productiveness. The new railways that are declared to be of primary importance are two. One is through the Mu Valley on the right bank of the Irrawaddy, and if it is to be connected with the main line to Mandalay, it will be necessary to bridge the river at the capital. Work has been already commenced on this line, and the surveys if not completed are far advanced. The other railway is one through the Shan States or the administrative district of Theinnee. At the present moment engineer officers are engaged in the task of surveying the country, in order to ascertain which is the best route for this line which will be constructed for local requirements in the first place but with an ulterior eye to its extension to the Chinese frontier. Mr. Scott, who has administrative charge of one of the divisions of Shan territory, entertains no doubt that there is a practicable gorge or rift through the mountain chain for the laying down of a railway, and that the eventual main line to China will pass by the Kunlon Ferry. This

latter view has been strenuously combated by Mr. Holt Hallett, who is entitled on this subject to a most respectful hearing, and who is convinced that the only feasible route for a railway into China is via Moulmain, Raheng, and Ssumao. It is unnecessary and indeed impossible to make a confident decision as to the merits of these rival schemes, but it is abundantly evident that the Shan States directly dependent on our authority must be provided in the first place, and before any larger projects, with railways.

The first requirement of Burmah is undoubtedly railways, and in addition to those that have been named railways in other directions, as for instance through the Chin Valley in the direction of Assam, are both desirable and necessary. Railways are wanted in Burmah for other reasons than the carriage of merchandise. They are especially wanted to increase the influx of population which is the great need of Burmah, and which must be supplied from either Bengal or China. Burmah suffers like all thinly peopled countries from difficulty in communication. A very large portion of the country is, practically speaking, inaccessible, and the first essential towards its development is the construction of roads and railways. With the provision of these means of locomotion immigration will be attracted, and the naturally great resources of the country will be more rapidly developed. Of the extent and magnitude of those resources there can be no doubt. Proof has already been afforded of this in the much-enhanced revenue which has been derived from those provinces that have been pacified. When the task of pacification has been completed the results cannot fail to show a proportionally gratifying increase. With security and improved roads will come increased population, and a more energetic development of natural resources; then will follow the rapid and unhesitating introduction of English capital to one of the most promising fields for its employment in the whole world.

Intimately connected in some respects with the question of Burmah is the suggested supply of a railway system to

Siam. Siam is one of the countries with which the East India Company first established a trade 280 years ago, and a fresh start was made by the mission of Sir John Bowring in 1854. It is a well-peopled and prosperous kingdom, with which our trade has by no means yet reached the dimensions that were expected, and that are still attainable. The King of Siam has shown the most laudable desire to promote railway schemes within his territory, and quite recently he is stated to have guaranteed the expense for a systematic survey of a railway from Bangkok to Raheng. Subject to that survey proving satisfactory a powerful group of financiers, who form the syndicate headed by Sir Andrew Clarke, has guaranteed the necessary capital to construct this trunk line through Siam. When Siam has done this large share of the work of opening up Indo-China on her own resources, and by the use of her own credit, it will be impossible for the Indian Government to withhold its support from the short link line that is to connect Moulmain and Raheng. The probability seems to be that while Siam is constructing this line we shall be perfecting our railway system in our own Burmese territory, and that our railway will have reached, and perhaps crossed the Salween before the Siamese have arrived at Raheng. We shall then be in a position to take an impartial view of the question as to the best line for connecting the frontier of Yunnan with the Bay of Bengal; and it is perhaps prudent to recollect that, while the main object to be attained in this quarter is to tap China on her south-west frontier, there are certain preliminary steps which have to be taken, and that it is only after their accomplishment that we shall be in a position to give a decisive opinion as to the superior merits of Mr. Hallett's scheme, long and ably urged by Mr. Colquhoun and himself, over that sketched by Mr. Scott and Mr. Sherriff among others.

The exploitation of Siam is not confined to the construction of a main line of railway up the Mekong. The mineral wealth of that kingdom is well known. The gold-fields of

Siam have attracted attention in the London market, and may yet realise all that has been expected from them. Tin and timber constitute the main wealth of the southern or Malayan dependencies of the King of Siam. Pahang and Patani are associated with divers hopes of extracting hidden treasures from the earth. Patani was famous in English commercial annals three centuries ago. Its queen was our good friend, and the East India Company believed that its tin would convert it into an Asiatic Cornwall. How these expectations were dashed to the ground may be learnt from Dr. Anderson's interesting narrative of early English enterprise in Siam, which is reviewed on another page. It may be hoped that, with better management, the absence of foreign competitors, and a more cordial co-operation on the part of the Siamese ruler, these hopes of the seventeenth century will show practical and gratifying fruition before the nineteenth has reached its close.

China, the remaining Asiatic country in which English capital might find a profitable occupation on a large scale, is in some respects the most important after India. It has great population, resources, and trade. If the Chinese Government once committed itself to a policy of railway construction, and if the Chinese public once showed its cordial approbation of that policy, there is no Asiatic country to which English capital would flow more freely and abundantly than China ; but these are two large "ifs." At the present moment he would be a bold man who would undertake to declare confidently what Chinese policy and Chinese opinions are on the subject of railways and their accompanying introduction into the Middle Kingdom of foreign influence and habits. We confine ourselves to the remark that other and less important countries of Asia will benefit by the continuation of China's policy of seclusion.

The main object of this survey of Asiatic countries is to show that a wide and profitable field lies open to the British investor in the East. No doubt every scheme that is put forward will not prove successful. Some will suffer from

bad management, others will not realise the exaggerated predictions of their founders, and all will be liable to vicissitudes of fortune arising from either political changes or unexpected commercial depression. But a very large proportion will be attended with results beneficial to the countries concerned, and to the English investor. New regions will be opened up, the undeveloped wealth of some of the most fertile countries in the world will be brought into the common market, and the productions of the loom and the factory will be carried without difficulty to the doors of numerous and backward populations. What is not less important is that, owing to the stimulus thus supplied, the English capitalist will take the lead in exploiting a part of the old world with which he has politically and commercially the closest associations. With the prospect of less gain, and without any stimulating national interest, he has expended and lost millions in the New World. If the English capitalist acted on any deliberate plan, he would exclude Russia and the whole of the New World, with the possible exception of Canada, from his operations. The Old World, and in that is fortunately included the whole of Africa, would supply sufficient objects for his support to last him for many centuries, and in no states will he find better employment and more ample reward for his money than in those which have been indicated, and which form the southern division of the continent of Asia.

WOULD INDIA GAIN BY THE EXTINCTION OF EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT ?

It is an interesting question, though strictly academical, but young India may read with profit remarks made by one, who deeply loves the people, and has made the study of the subject one of his chief thoughts for nearly half a century.

Of course, the people of every country prefer to be ruled by rulers of the same race, language, and religion as themselves, as, in addition to the national sentiment of independence and immunity from possible foreign oppression, there is the pleasing feature of the loaves and fishes and surplus revenue finding its way into native coffers. But this is a kind of dream of Utopia. Independent nations must themselves consist of an independent and united people, with a power for self-government, strong enough to maintain its own independence, and sufficiently united as to avoid disintegration. The provinces known as British India have at no time until now been united under one rule, nor have they in themselves the elements of which unity is formed, nor for the last eight hundred years have they ever enjoyed independence. If we were to give credence to the stump-agitators, British India was a free, flourishing, united, independent kingdom, until Great Britain laid hands upon it. Dreams pass through the minds of native enthusiasts, that, were the British rule withdrawn, free India would still remain an undivided kingdom, ruled by its own sovereign or parliament. But the condition of a European State, fashioned under the slow discipline of centuries, is far different from that of a congeries of kingdoms and provinces, the inhabitants of which have no unity of sentiment or language, and which were never united before, disliking each other rather more than their common foe and conqueror.

If the leading spirits of New India were wise, they would calmly and coldly sum up the advantages, which they now enjoy relatively to other Oriental nations in the nineteenth century. It is of no use contrasting their circumstances with those of European nations. History tells us, that there will be strong and superior races, and weak and inferior ones. The British nation had in its youth to cope with the Romans, the Danes, the Saxons, and Normans; in its old age it may have to hold its own against new enemies, but it is small, compact, insular, and united, and India has not that advantage. The census has revealed to us the manifold differences of race, religion, language, and degree of culture, and this feature of its population has rendered its subjection to the British power possible, and renders the idea of a free independent country highly problematical.

India is not a colony in any sense of the word. Australia and the Dominion of Canada represent the typical colony: Malta and Gibraltar represent the isolated fortress. India is a congeries of subject kingdoms, a mere geographical expression, kept in military subjection by a distant European nation, but under circumstances unparalleled in ancient or modern history. If we go back to the earliest ages, we find that the practice of the Assyrian or Babylonian conqueror was to transplant a conquered people. When a stronger race on the warpath, from causes which impelled them, but of which at this distance of time we cannot appreciate the force, occupied a country, as the Hebrews occupied Palestine, or the great Aryan invaders Northern India and Europe, they exterminated all that opposed them; and of the poor remnant part fled into wild and hilly tracts, and maintained a precarious independence, as the Kolarian races in Central India, or became hewers of wood and drawers of water in the settlements of the conqueror. Such was the law of uncivilised man. By the time of Alexander the Great, populations had so far settled down, that native kingdoms under Greek alien sovereigns were established at Babylon, Antioch, and in Egypt. Insensibly these dynasties

adopted the habits and customs of their people. Not so the Roman empire : the whole known world was held subject to the Imperial city, whence prætors and pro-consuls were sent out to rule over subject provinces, and there is much analogy between this system, and the one adopted by European nations in modern days. A study of the writings of Cicero during his government of Cilicia, and of Pliny during his government of Bithynia, is not unprofitable. The British Islands, Gaul, North Africa, Western Asia, were for centuries ruled, or rather misruled, in this way ; there was not a thought for the welfare of the people governed.

In the Middle Ages we find the detestable system of the Spaniards in South America, and of the Portuguese in East and West Africa. The rule of the Dutch in the Indian Archipelago was, and is, on purely commercial and selfish principles, as low and unsympathetic a form of government as can be imagined ; a kind of survival of the principles of the old East India Company of the last century, when the first, last, and only, object of the State-officials was, the company's investment and the shareholders' dividend.

The French occupy their subject territories as military positions, and an area for protected French commerce. By a strange inconsistency they admit representatives (Frenchmen by birth) of the subject state into their republican Chamber ; but the governor of the province is generally a soldier, and the administration is upon military principles. I have visited Algeria and Tunisia, which are now ruled by a civil governor, but vast tracts of land have been confiscated, and French settlers located surrounded by Mahometans. This is a dangerous experiment. The only European language allowed to be taught in schools is French, and an attempt is made to introduce that language among the people ; on the other hand, peace is maintained, order secured, and no signs of oppression were manifest. The French army in these two North African provinces, with a population of a very few millions, exceeds in number the British army in

India, and a conscript army has to be relieved every three years, as the term of service is over.

The Russian administration of subject provinces is purely military ; they are lean provinces with an enormous area, great distances to traverse, and no return adequate to the expenditure. No attempt at civilisation meets the eye, beyond the priceless boon of peace and railways. European colonists are found ready to occupy land ; and the natives are, in a great number, Christians of the Georgian and Armenian Churches. I lately visited Trans-Caucasia as far as the Caspian Sea, and considered well the aptitude of the Russian Civil officials. With an intimate knowledge of every detail of the administration of the Punjáb, including Pesháwar and the Dérajat, from the date of annexation in 1849, it is inconceivable to me, how in the event, more possible than probable, of Russia penetrating the Afghan passes, and occupying, by force of arms, the Punjáb as far as the Satlaj, it could carry on the administration. It must be recollected, that the railway system would have ceased to run ; the retiring British army would have removed the rolling stock, broken up the bridges, destroyed the stations, and torn up the line ; and Russia could not replace them. All the civil officials, native and British, would have disappeared ; the navigation of the Indus being blocked in Sindh, all export and import commerce would disappear ; and the length of the way to Tiflis in Trans-Caucasia, and Tashkend on the Amu Darya, would render the position of the invaders most hazardous. The British officials have by long experience mastered the art of governing without bullying, of being firm without harshness, sympathetic without weakness, conducting all business in the language of the people, keeping the soldiery out of sight. How different would be the Russian system !

What shall be said of the Turkish administration of subject provinces ? An entire absence of the first elementary conception of good government, imperfect investigations, cruel punishments, organized plunder, rabid intolerance, in-

security of highways, corruption of officials in power. I only allude to it, because, if the controlling power of Great Britain were withdrawn, such would probably be the form of government, which the people of India would enjoy for the next century, varied by the carnage and wholesale desolation of a new crop of such soldiers of fortune as Tipu, Sivagi, and Ranjit Singh.

With regard to the administration of British India since the year 1840, I can speak with some degree of knowledge, and an entire absence of partiality or prejudice. I have little to be thankful for personally to the great Government, for I left India without pension, having nine months' *residence* wanting in twenty-five years of service, and without honours, though present in great battles, and charged with the administration of virgin provinces under my great master, John Lawrence. The attempt has been made by the Government of British India, and successfully, and continuously made, to give British India the very best form of government, that the circumstances of the nineteenth century permitted, on the sole condition of submission to our rule. In that form of government were included many principles impossible to any government in Europe, even to their own subjects in Europe, but freely conceded by us to our subjects in India. Free trade, free religion, free education, free Press, free right of assembly, free power of movement in or out of the realm, free sale and acquisition of land, free agriculture, absence of poll tax or military conscription; no forced labour, no distinction of class, no personal disqualifications and State religion. In no country of Europe, not even our own, are all these essentials to be found. The utmost publicity is given to every act of authority: in all the prisons of British India there is no one political offender; there are no exiles of Siberia, no *détenus* of New Caledonia.

The danger to India may arise from three causes, all of which may be in force at the same time: an invasion from the North-West frontier, an uprising of the people of India,

or such a weakness of the power of Great Britain, as to diminish seriously the military garrison, or withdraw it altogether. Let us consider each calmly. It is idle to suppose, that it is possible or desirable to prevent or retard the process of civilisation of Northern Asia, which has fallen to the lot of Russia. It may, or may not, happen, that the Russian kingdom may break like a great steamer, owing to the extreme length of its keel. We must recollect also, that the idea of constitutional rights is developing amidst the Russian people, and that there may be domestic troubles at hand. Those also, who have had to do with the conquest of subject nations, may think that the annexation of Turkey, Persia and India, of one, or other, or all three, may prove a meal, which will choke the stork which swallows them. It would seem that an attack upon India would rather be as a feint, while the less difficult annexation of Persia, and the access thereby to the Indian Ocean, would be the object.

The greater danger is the growth of discontent among the natives of India, a kind of Irish desire for Home Rule, an insensate craving for constitutional rights, a seditious Press compelling an unwilling Government to restrict its freedom, and a spirit of disloyalty on the part of the British interlopers : this term is not used in an offensive sense, but as the only one, that can express a class of educated respectable men, aliens in birth, sojourners in India for a limited time only in their own personal interests, and who can have no more right to interfere with the affairs of the empire than they would have in Russia, or Turkey, or the Dominion of Canada. Such alien communities in the midst of a population numerically superior, and differing in race, religion, and language, are notoriously timorous, short-sighted, and outrageously selfish. On the other hand, the excess of liberty, allowed by the Government to a race, to whom liberty was previously unknown, and the educational advantages and political knowledge of certain classes, must bring with it strange consequences, the nature of which we

cannot predict. Liberty can only be used wisely by those who can distinguish betwixt liberty and license ; and the learning acquired from high education is something very different from political wisdom, which can distinguish betwixt what is desirable and what is possible, and what changes are more pregnant of danger to existing good things than likely to produce permanent benefit.

The third danger is equally real. In case of a long European war, or an invasion of Great Britain, it may prove impossible to maintain the garrison of India ; and there is no question, that on that garrison the hold upon India depends ; the moment our strength is doubted, the beginning of the end is at hand.

It is forgotten, that with the withdrawal of the strong impartial government, colourless in matters of religion, the old strife betwixt the Hindu and Mahometan would recommence. An attempt to blend together the different races and religions has failed, and at the very first opportunity dormant antipathies would wake up, unsoftened by time, education, or social contact. Ancient feuds would blaze out into perpetual conflicts, rousing undying religious animosities, destruction of property and sacrifice of life. Such troubles do not arise from the thinking few, but from the uneducated, unthinking masses, the refuse of the great cities. We know what they did during the mutinies of 1857.

The long Pax Britannica, accompanied by a strong urban and rural police, has extended the area of cultivation far beyond the dreams of the last generation. In times of internal turbulence, or foreign invasion, the villages are deserted, the fields drop out of cultivation, the breadth of the land under corn or other crop is sensibly reduced. In the time of piping peace, the means of supporting life, and the number of the population, and the rude comforts of life are indefinitely increased. Those, who have had to do with the settlement and the collection of the State-revenue, know this well : the sites of deserted villages are found in the

jungle, and a few years after, new villages or hamlets have sprung up in the centre of a newly cultivated area, which has had a long fallow. It may be argued cynically, that such fallows are a law of nature, and a superabundant population has to be thinned down by one of the three scourges : war, famine, or pestilence : it matters not which. Still, the thought of the misery caused to a peaceful agricultural population dwelling by millions in thousands of villages, and hundreds of market towns, by the withdrawal of the strong arm which enforces order, cannot be contemplated without deep anxiety. The loss of prestige to the British nation, and of wealth to the British trader is as nothing, when weighed in the balance with the overwhelming woe brought upon a peaceful population placed suddenly, after a long enervating period of protection and prosperity, at the mercy of alien Oriental hordes, or the scum of their own cities.

At the time of the break-up of the Mahometan empire in Northern India, after the battle of Paniput, the power of Delhi was wounded to the heart ; the Maratha army had driven back the Afghans ; the Punjáb was without a ruler ; the leaders of the agricultural classes, who had adopted the new faith of the Sikhs, seized upon the country and partitioned it among themselves. It is narrated, how horsemen were sent to every village within a certain limit, who merely threw a shoe or a turban or a waistband into the village, as a token that they had annexed it, and passed on to the next. Castles sprang up in every central village ; the highways ceased to be safe ; all outlying villages were deserted ; all reality or even form of government ceased to exist ; Mahometan places of worship were destroyed, and revenge taken for the insults and outrages of centuries. Forty years ago I used to listen to these stories from greybeards who had themselves taken a part in the uprising, or younger men who had heard of it from their fathers. Ranjit Singh by force and fraud united them into one kingdom, and on his death we annexed that kingdom, and I took part in the annexation.

Asia has ever been the field of such events. In the dawn of history, just before the fall of Nineveh, there was an irruption of Scythians into Media; and there is, as it were, a law by which the poor and hardy races are periodically directed upon the civilised and therefore effeminate kingdoms, to shake, ravage, and overturn. This prevents their stagnating with corruption, or purges, as in the case of Imperial Rome, the Augean stables of hopeless, shameless, corruption.

But it might be urged that the long period of British rule had swept away the memory and the possibility of such uprisings; that the people had forgotten the habits of their ancestors. The story of the mutinies of 1857 may help to remove the illusion. For more than fifty years the districts round Delhi had been under British rule, lightly assessed, with every possible advantage. None but those in extreme old age could remember the bad days of the Maratha armies and the siege of walled villages, and the severe punishment dealt out to the freebooters. Still, within a few weeks after the mutiny at Mirat, the country was in a blaze; all the old practices revived; every vestige of civilisation was destroyed, and obsolete forms of crime came into existence. There are tribes peculiarly addicted to plunder, and though not one of them could have had any training, they took to the ways of their ancestors without hesitation.

Now, if any disasters were to happen to the French arms, Algeria would be up in revolt in an instant, as it was in 1870. The size of the country is limited; all are Mahometans, though of two races; but in some rude way a government would be established, as good as that of its neighbours, Morocco and Tunisia. So in Trans-Caucasia, if the arm of Russia were shortened, very little time would be required to resuscitate the ancient kingdoms of Georgia and Armenia. The petty mountain chiefs of the Caucasus, and the three million of Turks in Trans-Caucasia, and the adjoining provinces of Azerbaijan in Persia would unite and form a kingdom: the population is so inconsiderable, the

wealth so restricted, the progress of civilisation so slight, that there would be no difficulty: it would be merely an addition to the political world of more little kingdoms like Servia, Bulgaria, &c., troublesome but not dangerous. The commerce of the world would scarcely feel the effects of the submersion under the ocean of the whole of the French and Russian subject province. They bear the same proportionate value to the world that the French possessions in India bear to the area of India. It is on record how on one occasion when war was imminent with France, it was proposed temporarily to annex Pondicherry, and it was found that a "Naik and four" was the only additional force required.

But, if British India were to be convulsed by internal tumult, its roads and rivers would cease to be traversable; its extensive agricultural productions would perish in their distant provinces; its manufactures would wither; it would cease to be a great consumer of European imports, and a mine out of which fortunes could be extracted; and the loss would be felt in every centre of commerce in Europe. Any one who examined the commercial statistics of the period would become aware of the extreme importance of India; it must be remembered, that an income of sixty millions is spent in salaries, military and civil supplies: the sudden stoppage of the pension list would create a sensation in every town in England.

But our real attention should be directed, not to the ruin of thousands in Europe, which would be caused by the loss of India, but to the perils to which India would be exposed. Let not the eloquent orator in the native congress, or the audacious editor of the native paper, suppose that with the retirement of the British officials would commence his innings: let him be assured, that he is but a creature of the European system, and that he would be consumed, like a moth in the candle, by the first blaze of popular feeling. Room would be made for men of sterner material than his. In times of peace, the warlike tribes of the North are silent, because their occupation is gone, and

the talkative men of the pen and ready voice put themselves forward. As a rule, the fighting races of north India, in whose midst I lived many years, cannot read or write, and the educated classes of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, notoriously cannot fight. On the eve of the battle of Maharájpur, the Bengali Hindu clerks of the office of the Governor General represented to the Secretary, "that they belonged to a non-fighting race, and asked leave to retire to Agra until the issue of the day was decided." It is understood, that not a single soldier is recruited from the millions of Bengal; and yet in the hour of commotion, caused by the withdrawal of the British in India, the issue will depend upon hard fighting, not on eloquent speech making. The Press, the Post Office, the Congress, the colleges, the clubs, the debating societies, would all disappear, when the great struggle for supremacy was being fought.

Nor would the ignoble scions of the existing dynasties fare much better. With the exception of the Rajpút dynasties of central India, and the lower Himaláya, all the mushroom dynasties, which now exist, sprang into being at a later date than the charter of the East India Company. A robber chief, successful in the hour of confusion, founded them and maintained them by unscrupulous valour; but the valour has long since left their descendants. The tinge of European education has made them still more unequal to the task of profiting by the disappearance of the Imperial Government. It would be difficult for them to grasp the situation in all its bearings: some might be tempted to launch out in a career of conquest; others might be satisfied by strengthening their own fortress, and preparing to fight for their own. But they will have the population to deal with, and in all probability some successful soldier, or robber chieftain of the well-known Indian type, will appear on the field, very unscrupulous, very determined, and very cruel; at any rate they would be real men and not bloated, effeminate, self-indulgent princelings.

In the struggle, the railways would cease to be worked ; locomotion and postal telegraphic communication would have stopped ; it is idle to suppose that petty upstarts would be able to maintain such luxuries of civilisation ; they rather dislike them. I recollect the Maharaja of Pateála, refusing to allow me to open a post office in Pateála, while he rather approved of female infanticide, if conducted decently. The editor of a newspaper, or the speaker at a grievance meeting, would have but a brief shrift, if they fell into the hands of the robber chieftains, who could not bear patiently language such as the British Government only laughs at. Even in the event of Russia or France succeeding to the empire of India, the occupation of these patriots would be gone ; as the British Government is the only one in existence, that estimates the value of free Press and free speech so highly, that it allows itself to be abused, calumniated, and misrepresented by its subjects. The Press would be confiscated, and the Hall of Assembly locked up by the Russian and French police, on the same principle, that we muzzle our dogs, and extinguish incendiaries. Let them be wise in time and consider this.

There exist, no doubt, serious evils in the present system, but it is difficult to see how they can be remedied : the superb albocracy, which seem to get worse and worse, and every mean white, or European maid-servant or railway official, is considered as something superior to the Rajpút noble of a hundred generations, with great nobility of bearing and character. There is a constant drawing away of the wealth of India to England, as Englishmen grow fat on accumulations made in India, while the Indian remains as lean as ever. The same kind of thing went on in Ireland from the reign of Charles I. to that of Victoria. Every post of dignity and high emolument, civil and military, is held by a stranger and foreigner ; the Russians avoid this error. All native aspirations are crushed, and there is a daily-increasing estrangement between the two races. The officers of the old native army, and the old

class of civilians, who lived among the people, who loved them, and spoke their language, are gone. There are not many now, round whom, in the hour of peril, the chiefs and better classes would rally, and who by their own personal influence could raise a regiment; the lower classes seem to be getting poorer and poorer. The public officer lives more and more a European life, surrounded by family comforts, and constantly backwards and forwards to England. This may be more moral, more comfortable, and more respectable, but it is not the way, in which the empire of India was founded and maintained in past decades. It does not require much wisdom to manage a district.

"Nescis mi fili *quantulâ* sapientiâ mundus regitur," but it does require sympathy and kindness of spirit. The men of the old type were men of vigour, of mental and physical strength, mighty horsemen, and ready writers; men, who knew their work and were not afraid to do it, for they could strike like a hammer, cut like a razor, and revolve like a wheel: they cared little for vituperation or saucy language in the Indian Press, for each of them knew, that he was just the gate post, that every old bull butted at, and every young calf tried to defile; and he went steadily on the course laid down for him. In the last forty years, the Punjâb, Oudh, the Central Provinces, and the Assigned Districts, have been managed by men such as the above described. It rests with the present generation not to throw away what has been handed down to them.

The question of the hour is, How long? How long? Each year the thread, which attaches British India to Great Britain, is undergoing greater tension and becoming weaker. The methods by which in sterner ages Oriental people were kept in subjection are exhausted, and offend the conscience: they used to be done, and not reported by special correspondents. The wholesale destruction of a nation by the Israelites on their move from Egypt, the high-handed policy of Nebuchadnezzar in deporting conquered tribes to another region, the slaughter of Genghiz and Timur, and

the piles of heads heaped up before a conquered city, the killing of women and children, as practised by the Israelites, are out of date. We read of them with horror and disgust. And yet the government has to be carried on: in Europe (excepting Ireland and Poland), it may be possible to rule by forms of law, constitutional machinery, and trials by jury, and in time of peace we try to do so in India; but in time of trouble we have a hard problem to solve: "*Inter arma silent leges.*" I have had repeatedly to face it.

In my travels in Algeria, Russia south of the Caucasus, and the Turkish Empire, I have listened to terrible stories, and reflected how I should have acted under the circumstances, the nature of which I could realize. During the Mutinies in 1857, I was cognisant of outrages as great: the fearful vengeance taken at Delhi: slaughtered princes, offenders swung off without trial, wells filled up with bodies of mutineer Sepoys, blowing up of temples, blowing away of mutineers from guns, confiscation of property, forcible carrying off of women, gallows standing in permanence and used daily, summary trial and conviction and execution, men sent to the rear and cut up by the soldiery, Mahometans hung in pigskins, or their bodies reduced to ashes at the foot of the gallows. All the actors have passed away to their account. Revolutions and rebellions, and re-assertion of authority, cannot be effected by rosewater and etiquette politicians. I came home in 1864 in the same ship with Garibaldi, the Liberator of Italy, and told him some of these things: his remark was that the English after all were "*veramente Tedeschi,*" or in reality as bad as Austrians, of whom they had had such experience in Italy.

If the state of India were to become such as that of Ireland is now, if we were fools enough to jeopardize our empire to enable the absentee landlords to levy exorbitant rents from the hereditary resident tenants of their purchased estates, if no attempt be made to interest the better class in the maintenance of our rule, the end will be near. The consequences to India will be terrible. We saw what it was

during the Mutinies, and the marvel was, that the tempest so soon subsided when a large British army arrived : but let it not be forgotten, that it may occur again, and there be no British reinforcements available. The card-house may fall to the ground, and the British interlopers, who in the hour of their opportunity did their best to malign and weaken the patient Government which protected them, will be swept out of the land. If they were wise, if they were able to realize the precarious position of British commerce in India, they would support the Government ; and let them take the opinion of one, who has carefully considered the policy of all the existing governments to their subject provinces, that there is not one, which equals or comes near to the Government of India, in the simple desire to do justice to the people whom they govern, without distinction of race or religion. It is impossible to allow an alien Briton special privileges in a country occupied by a great and ancient people like the people of India, whose ancestors were highly civilised at a period, when our forefathers were mere savages in skins. Let us only reflect what the world owes to India. If they borrowed the germs of the Phenician alphabet, they elaborated it to such an extent, that the Indian alphabet is one of the notable landmarks in science : they invented those numerals falsely called Arabic, which superseded the clumsy notation of the Romans : they taught the world the elements of grammar ; and until a knowledge of Sanskrit was acquired, the mechanism of the Greek and Latin languages remained unexplained. In astronomy they went ahead ; in architecture they have left monuments of unrivalled beauty : we are slowly finding our way through the wealth of their monumental inscriptions on rocks or pillars, and in caves ; in poetry and deep speculations as to the origin of mortal things, and the relation of the soul to the great Creator, they stand unrivalled. Over and above, and independent of, the great Hindu sages, came the great creations of the Mahometan new birth, and for nearly eight hundred years

the two streams ran parallel, both at length merging into, and coming under, the control of the colleges of British India.

If a stranger from another hemisphere were to visit the Indian Council Chamber, how surprised he would be to hear one member rise, and without further comment, propose a bill to amend the law regulating the marriage of Fire-worshippers; another member would introduce a bill to check systematic infanticide in the families of people of high station and respectability, by whose ancient customs female blood relations did not exist; a third member would press a measure with the smack of the nineteenth century, providing for the education of the lowest classes, the sweeper and the helot, who had no more conception of instruction than the birds twittering in the trees.

Foreigners, who have made a hasty tour through India, are surprised at the stoic calm, with which the British official gazes at all that is around him, which strikes the new-comer with intense interest; the fact is, that the novelty is worn off and the interest pared down by the incessant hard work and grinding responsibilities. During my quarter of a century in India it was one unceasing drive backwards and forwards from Allahabad to Lahore, in the two provinces, to both of which I belonged, and every district of both of which I had visited. Many things now occur to me which I much wish that I had paid attention to. Oh, for an hour with one of my old friends, to explain a matter which must remain unsolved! Oh, that I had made better use of my opportunities amidst a virgin population, in the midst of whom I dropped in their simplicity and my freshness! It is too late now; all my old friends of forty-five years ago have been consumed on the funeral pyre, or put away in a shallow Mahometan grave, perhaps to be pulled out the next night by a jackal; but I remember their faces and characters still.

What an imperfect idea of human life in its entirety must those have, who have not visited the East, and contemplated the ways of men in one of the three great

developments, the Mahometan of west Asia, the Indian, and the Chino-Japanese! The Arabian Nights and many portions of the Holy Scriptures have a strange fascination, because they lift up the curtain, and permit an imperfect glance into an oriental world; but to the sojourner for years in the East, all these things are clothed in a wondrous reality. He has himself walked the bazaars at night in the disguise of a native, and listened to the chattering of the people, and spied out the hidden grievances and sorrows of the poor. In the courts of native chieftains he has known of favourites who sprung up to greatness like the mustard-tree, and, behold, an evil day came, and they were gone! Who has not looked out on the parching desert and watched the camels? Who is not familiar with the long row of so-called worshippers going through the drill of afternoon prayer in the Mosque? Who is not familiar with the jars of the forty thieves, the hunchbacked tailor, the story-teller, the letter-writer, the water-carrier, the veiled woman, the minaret, and the pipe? The unpronounceable names resolve themselves into intelligible syllables to our practised ear, and our servants answer to the call of the very names chronicled in the most fascinating of romances. But the field of romance and fable is now terribly circumscribed. Modern cyclopædias and maps have left no open space for the islands of the Blest, or for the wanderings of Sindbad. No climes are now beyond the postman, the tax-gatherer, the newspaper-correspondent, and the grievance-monger. Imagination once had a free scope; we have gained materially, but we have lost the charms of fancy. We have to regard the well-being of India as one of the serious problems of the first quarter of the Twentieth Century, and I ask the young patriot to remember the sad lament:—

“I was well: wishing to be better, here I am.”

ROBERT N. CUST.

THE TURKS IN CRETE.

THE island of Crete, which is now attracting attention as the focus of the continual agitation for Home Rule among the Christian subjects of the Porte, was the latest acquisition of the Turks in Europe. They conquered it in one of their last failing efforts for the propagation of the True Faith by the sword of the Holy War; and at the same time they wrested the fortress of Neuhausel in Hungary from the Emperor of Germany, and that of Kaminiek on the Dniester from the Poles. But these two latter conquests they were obliged soon after to yield up again to victorious Christendom at the peace of Carlowitz, when the Osmanlis with astonishment saw themselves for the first time compelled to resign territories that had been sanctified by the rule of Islam to the hands of the infidels. But Crete has remained Moslem now for more than two hundred years, for the second time in her history. Along with Sicily, the Balearic Isles, and many other lands of the Mediterranean, Crete was overrun by the Saracens in the first century of the Muhammadan era: and the Arabs of Spain founded there a piratical state which preyed on Christian commerce for three hundred years. These sea-rovers landed on the island by chance, and their Amir, seeing the fruitfulness of the soil and the wealth of the Christian cities, and ambitious to found a new State, burned the ships which had brought them; and so forced his unwilling men to forget their homes in Spain, and to conquer a new one in the island, which now took the name of Candia from the "Khandak," or trench which had surrounded the first hasty encampment of the invaders.

In the tenth century, during the decadence of the Arab power, the Byzantine Emperor, Nicephorus Phocas, recon-

quered the island for the Cross, and exterminated the followers of the Crescent with the most ferocious cruelty. In the disruption and decay of the Roman Empire of the East, the possession of Crete became the object of contention between the Genoese and the Venetians, and the prize finally fell into the clutches of the latter, and remained in their hands for four hundred years.

Meantime the Ottoman Turks had succeeded to the heritage of the Cæsars, and had rapidly conquered for themselves an Empire extending from Baghdad on the Tigris to Buda on the Danube. They soon came into collision with the Venetians in the Levant, and drove them successively from many of the islands of the Greek archipelago. Sultan Selim the Second, nick-named the Drunken, made war on them to obtain possession of Cyprus, which he coveted for the sake of its famous wine. The island was overrun by the overwhelming hosts of the Musalman; and though the Venetians succeeded in arming all the maritime powers of the Mediterranean against the common enemy, and totally destroyed the Turkish navy in the great battle of Lepanto, they were at last compelled to purchase the safety of their remaining possessions in the Levant by the formal cession of Cyprus to the Sultan. They still retained Crete, and the seven Ionian islands, and the small isle of Tino in the Cyclades: and in the possession of these they remained unmolested by their formidable neighbour for about seventy years more. The feeble character of the later Sultans of the House of Othman, the maladministration of their Government, the insubordination of their soldiery, the rebellions raised in the provinces by the pashas, all combined to paralyse the energies of the Turkish nation and to divert its attention from foreign war.

The Turks at this time firmly believed that they were destined to become the conquerors and possessors of the whole of Europe: of "the seven infidel kingdoms of the Farang," as they themselves called it. Their rise had been so rapid, their success so enormous, that they fully believed

themselves to be the chosen champions destined to convert the whole world to the true faith. Bajazet Yilderim swore that he would stable his horse in St. Peter's, and use the high altar for his manger. When each new Sultan on his accession visited the barracks of the Janissaries, he made a stock speech to the soldiers "that he would meet them again at Kizil Alma (the Red Apple)," meaning the City of Rome, ripe like a fruit to fall into their hands. After their conquest of the kingdom of Hungary, they expected next to conquer Germany, and from thence to pass on to France and Spain. But Suliman the Magnificent besieged Vienna in vain, and his successors waged a tedious war for thirteen years with the German Emperor, which left both sides just where they began, and the Turks had gained no further acquisitions. Civil and domestic broils had sapped the strength of the state and wasted the energies of the nation. The people at length became impatient at the long interruption of their career of conquest: the world still remained unbelieving: the frontiers of Islam were no further advanced. Sultan Murad the Terrible collected a great armament for an expedition against Malta, but he died before the preparations were completed. An accident diverted the storm of war to the shores of Crete.

The Turks had long cast covetous eyes upon Crete; it was the largest island of the Levant, and it angered them that an outpost of the Christians should thus be wedged into the circle of their dominions as it were, lying between Egypt and the Morea. Sultan Ahmad the First had hankered after Crete; and the Turks have a story that he asked all his sons in succession to promise to conquer Crete for him, when they were grown to man's estate. He said to the eldest, "My Osman, wilt thou conquer Creta for me?" "What have I to do with Creta?" replied the boy; "I will conquer the land of the white Russian girls, and shed blood there." Accordingly when he was grown up and had succeeded his father, Sultan Othman made war on Poland, not with much success. Each of the sons successively declined

the task of conquering Creta on some pretext or other, till it came to the turn of Ibrahim, the least promising of the children, who said, "Please God, I will conquer Creta from the infidels." So it came to pass that the second conquest of Crete by the Musalmans was commenced in the reign of Sultan Ibrahim, who succeeded his brother Murad the Terrible.

The Levant was at that time greatly infested by the cruisers of the Knights of St. John: "the cursed crossed pirates of Malta," as the Turks called them. It was to abate this nuisance that Sultan Murad had determined to again attempt the conquest of Malta, which had already forced more than one Turkish armament to retire from before its walls; but the preparations for the enterprise languished under Sultan Ibrahim, who was a weak and vicious voluptuary.

It happened that his Kizlar Agha (Master of the Maids), a black eunuch called Sumbulli (Hyacinth), had been displaced by some palace intrigue, and had obtained the permission to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. Several of the ladies of the harem, who were also piously bent upon the pilgrimage, were placed under his care for the journey; among them was one who had been purchased when a girl for the seraglio of the Sultan, and had after her admission proved to be *enceinte*; she was delivered of a son in the harem, and the child accompanied her on the pilgrimage. Master Hyacinth conveyed with him many costly effects, and forty splendid horses, for whose accommodation the gun-deck of the ship on which he embarked was given up; and his suite consisted of nearly a thousand persons, who were carried in a huge carrack with him, and in several smaller craft accompanying it. The convoy set sail for Alexandria; but off the eastern end of the isle of Crete it was attacked by six Maltese galleys. The Turks fought desperately, but their ship was so loaded that their guns were useless, and the horses broke loose during the fight and increased the confusion. The Turkish chronicler, Auliya Effendi, says that the Osmanli captain of the ship abused the Kizlar

Agha, saying to him, "Cursed Arab! did I not tell thee to put arms and ammunition into the ship, instead of horses?" and so saying he struck off the unfortunate eunuch's head with a blow of his scimitar, and was himself immediately cut down by his retainers. After forty-eight hours' fighting the whole flotilla was taken by the Maltese, who carried their prizes into the harbour of Canea, in Crete; some accounts say into the port of Kalismena, on the south side of the island; but the Turkish chroniclers say, and the Turks believed, that it was Canea. Here they divided their spoil, sold the horses, and according to the Turkish chronicler, violated the women.

Sultan Ibrahim was furious at the affront put upon him by the violation of the sanctity of his harem, and he immediately gave orders to complete the fitting out of the expedition against Malta. He was greatly incensed against the Venetians also for having harboured the Maltese squadron; but the Bailo, or ambassador, of Venice at the Porte made humble apologies, and even, it is said, offered aid to equip the Turk's armament against Malta. The Sultan had really no sufficient cause of complaint, for the Barbary corsairs were in the habit of taking Venetian prizes into Turkish ports; at any rate he dissembled his anger, and pretended to be satisfied. He had, however, made up his mind to divert the expedition from Malta to Crete. He thought the latter would be a much easier as well as a more profitable conquest: and he was influenced by a favourite who had an old grudge against the Venetians.

This was a renegade Croat, named Joseph Maskovitch, who had been captured young by the Turks, and converted to Islam by his master, a Bosniack Beg. This latter had a great hatred for his Venetian neighbours, which he instilled into his *protégé*, who was now called Yusuf. An imperial chamberlain, who was visiting Bosnia, was struck with young Yusuf's appearance and address, and begged him for the Seraglio; here he became one of the Sultan's *Bostanjis* (Gardeners) or Palace Guards; then he entered the corps of

Baltajis (Halberdiers), and rose from one situation to another till he became Capitan Pasha or Lord High Admiral of the Turkish Navy : an example of a not uncommon career for a Christian captive boy in the Ottoman Empire in those days. Yusuf was a favourite with Sultan Ibrahim, and urged him to take revenge on the Venetians for their offence in receiving the galleys of the Knights of Malta with their prizes. He was appointed to the chief command of the combined naval and military expedition, the preparations for which were pushed on in the arsenals of the capital with the utmost vigour.

The Turks at that time were still one of the great military powers, and they occupied in European politics much the same position as the Russian Empire does to-day. Their swollen forces lay on the horizon of Christendom, like a threatening thunder-cloud ready to burst and deluge the south and east of Europe. All the Christian states paid court to the Porte, and submitted to be bullied and insulted in the persons of their ambassadors. The Turk would not condescend to keep an agent at any European Court, regarding an embassy as a confession of inferiority. The European ambassadors, before they were admitted to an audience of the Sultan, were clothed in Turkish robes, and had their arms held by Guards during the interview. Their Dragomans (Terguman, *i.e.* Interpreter) were imprisoned and flogged by the orders of the Turkish Ministers for any shortcomings in diplomatic relations. The French court cultivated relations with the Turks the most assiduously, as possible allies against Germany. The Turks on their part considered all the Christian powers as their natural enemies, and for long they never made a peace with any one of them, but always a truce only for a certain number of years, at the end of which the perpetual war might be renewed. The Peace of Sitvatorok with the Emperor of Germany in A.D. 1606 was the first instance of a permanent peace being concluded with a Christian power. After this they had also admitted Venice to the benefit of a lasting peace.

The military power of the Osmanlis was still formidable in the seventeenth century, although it was already on the wane. They had a standing army of a hundred thousand men on foot, while such a force was still in its infancy in France, Austria, Sweden, and the other European States. At a pinch they could put more than two hundred thousand men into the field, while the French or Germans could with difficulty muster a quarter of that number. Untrained and badly disciplined as their soldiers were, they still were formidable from their courage and their skill in using their weapons. The chief defect of the Turkish armies was the lack of military science: their officers knew nothing of either strategy or tactics: and though they were excellent at sapping and mining, they were ignorant of the art of the engineer. All the advantages which their numbers and their rude organization gave them over their enemies were neutralised by the gross incompetence of their commanders.

The bulk of the Turkish military forces, consisting of feudal militia and territorial troops, were under obligation to serve only through a summer campaign, and were dismissed to their homes on the army going into winter quarters. Orders were given early in the spring of 1645 to mobilise forces for the approaching expedition. The Sanjak Beys of the European provinces were directed to rendezvous with their contingents at Salonica: those of Bosnia and Albania were to march to Modon, in the Morea, to embark there. Seven Sanjaks (standards) of cavalry of Anatolia were to rendezvous at the bay of Chashma, opposite to the isle of Scio. At Constantinople 14,000 Sipáhis (paid cavalry), and 7,000 Janissaries (infantry), with some regiments of Topjis (artillery), and Jebejis (ordnance train men), with a siege train of 50 battering cannon, forty and forty-eight pounders, and an immense quantity of warlike stores and material of all kinds were embarked on board the fleet. One division of men-of-war and transports was sent to Salonica, and another to Scio to take up the troops

assembled there ; and the general rendezvous of the whole fleet was fixed at Karystos, at the southern end of the island of Eubœa. The Sultan had requisitioned the Barbary regencies for assistance in the Holy War, and eight of their war galleys had already arrived in the Bosphorus : the rest of their contingent was to join *en route*. Ten large ships of war were furnished by Alexandria, and ten vessels of the English and Dutch in Turkish ports were chartered as transports, in addition to twelve huge Turkish Maonas or troop-ships. The Imperial Ottoman navy furnished sixty-three war-galleys, and the armada was completed by three hundred small craft (Kaiks and kara-mursal). On the 30th of April, 1645 (the year of the battle of Naseby), the signal was given to weigh anchor, and the fleet stood down the Bosphorus with a fair wind. The Sultan held a grand Darbar on shore in the morning, where the superior officers were admitted to the honour of kissing hands, and were invested with fur pelisses and rich robes of honour.

After the ceremony, when the captains and commanders had gone on board their ships, the Sultan and the Grand Vazir retained Yusuf Pasha with them, and they watched from the walls of the Palace the fleet dropping down past the Seraglio, every ship saluting with all its guns as they passed Seraglio Point in long procession, "like a flock of cranes," says Auliya Effendi, "so that the whole sea seemed in a blaze." The Sultan said to Yusuf Pasha "Where are you going, Yusuf?" He replied, "Please God, to Malta." The Sultan told him that he was not destined for Malta, but for Crete : and that he was to keep the change of destination a profound secret, that the Venetians might be taken by surprise. Canea was to be the first object of the expedition. It was supposed to be the spot where the Arabs had first planted the Crescent on Cretan soil a thousand years before : the captured Turkish horses of the ill-fated Agha Hyacinth had been landed there, and the soil where a Turkish hoof had trod was fated to become the land of

true believers : finally, it was Canea that had harboured the galleys of Malta, and it should be the first Cretan town to pay the forfeit of its crime. Yusuf Pasha was overjoyed to hear the secret of his destination and promised to send the Sultan speedily the first fruits of victory. He then repaired to his flagship, and the fleet was soon anchored at Gallipoli, where a number of the troops were taken on board.

Sultan Ibrahim had meanwhile sought the sanction of religion for the treacherous act which he contemplated. As soon as he had resolved on the conquest of Crete, his Grand Vazir being the only person privy to his intention, he addressed the following question to the Mufti or Shaikh ul Islam, the chief expounder of the Divine Law :—

“Query. If the infidels are possessed of a land which was formerly in the possession of Moslems ; if they have defiled its Mosques, Colleges, and Oratories with their superstitions ; if they plunder Musalman merchants and pilgrims ; can the Emperor of Islam, moved by his zeal for the house of God, wrest these countries from the hands of the infidels, and add them to the Musalman territory ?”

The following Fetwa or decision was delivered upon his question by the Shaikh ul Islâm :—“Answer. God knows everything best. Peace with the infidels is only legal, if advantageous to all Moslems ; but if not, it is not legal at all. As soon as it is useful, it is also allowed to break the peace, be it concluded for a fixed time or for ever. This is justified by the example of the Prophet, who having concluded peace with the infidels, which was broken by Ali in the sixth year of the Hegira, took the field against them in the eighth year and conquered Mecca. The Emperor has but imitated the Sunna of the Prophet. God bless his victories. This was written by the poor and despised Abu Sa'id.”

“The Emperor,” says his faithful chronicler, Auliya Effendi, “took this Fetwa, and stuck to it like a cable of safety.”

The fleet encountered rough weather in the Levant ; but at length Yusuf Pasha found all its divisions united at Karystos, where fresh water and provisions were taken in, and the horses landed to graze.

The united fleet again set sail, consisting, says the Turkish chronicler, of "two hundred gallies, tartanas, galliots, twelve large Maona (troop-ships), one hundred Firkata (frigates), caravella, galleons, pinks, Butaj, Shaitia, Shaika and Karamursal—altogether seven hundred ships." Ten swift frigates, under the command of Durak Beg, a noted corsair, were sent ahead to reconnoitre, and to find the Barbary fleet. Early in June the armada passed under the island of Cerigo; belonging to Venice, where some of the ships touched, and were supplied with food and water by the unsuspecting Venetians.

The whole fleet cast anchor in the Bay of Navarino, where the troops were disembarked. Here they were joined by six thousand Arnauts, who had marched overland ; and Yusuf Pasha held a general review of the troops.

There were fourteen thousand Sipáhis of the six regiments of cavalry of the standing army ; thirty-six regiments of Janissaries, ten regiments of Topjis, and ten of Jebejis ; fifty thousand of the feudal militia, mostly cavalry ; and thirty thousand Pioneers, an undisciplined, unorganized, and almost unarmed rabble : altogether nearly a hundred thousand men. The number of horses is not stated ; nor is any mention made of field artillery ; but fifty pieces of heavy artillery were carried for sieges.

After the troops had refreshed themselves on shore, the whole were re-embarked, and the order was given to sail for Malta. On the 20th of June the fleet weighed anchor, and stood to the westward. This was the last *ruse* to throw the Venetians off their guard, and to prevent intelligence of the altered destination of the fleet from reaching Crete.

As soon as Yusuf Pasha saw himself clear of the land he made signals to the Beys and Captains to repair on board his flagship. The course was altered, and the armada

steered to the south-east. They passed Cerigo in the dark, but not without being observed, for the Venetians in the Castle fired guns and sent up rockets to warn the inhabitants of the Turks being at hand. The mask was now thrown off, and all Venetian vessels met with were taken and plundered. On the morning of the 24th of June the whole armada was off the Cretan coast, close to the city and harbour of Canea.

The Venetians were, as the Turkish chronicler exultingly observes, "in a hare's sleep." The Signory were as unprepared to resist a hostile attack, and as unwilling to admit the possibility of one, as even an English Liberal Ministry could well be.

The fortifications of the Cretan towns were in bad repair, the magazines empty, and the garrisons inadequate. The Venetians had believed, what they hoped, that the Turkish fleet was really intended for Malta. Still the presence of such a formidable force in their neighbourhood had caused them some anxiety. Turkish captains on the war-path were not apt to be discriminating between enemies and neutrals; and the presence of Barbary cruisers in the Levant was not reassuring to the dwellers on Christian coasts. The island had accordingly been put into the best state of defence possible with the inadequate means at disposal; and scouts were sent out who reported the first approach of the Turkish fleet. The Kapitan Pasha was therefore disappointed in his endeavours to take Canea by a surprise.

The Turks first descended on the island of San Toderò, to secure a safe anchorage for their ships before Canea. The Venetian garrison in the Castle, having no hope of being able to defend it, blew up their magazine, and escaped to the mainland. The Turkish host disembarked near Canea, and occupied the outworks of the town, which had to be abandoned, as the garrison was insufficient to hold them. Yusuf Pasha immediately invested the place by land and sea, and his pioneers covered the ground around the city with a network of approaches. The Turks did not sap up to a place by zigzag approaches, but by a series of small semi-

circular trenches with the ends overlapping and communicating, so that their trenches formed a perfect labyrinth around and in front of their batteries. The Janissaries established themselves in the trenches, excavating holes for themselves, in which they squatted, each man having his pipe and his coffee-pot beside him, and remaining in his place sometimes for days together before his post was advanced or relieved.

The breaching batteries were soon completed and opened on the town, while the approaches were rapidly pushed forward. The Venetian forces in Candia, the chief town of the island, made attempts to throw succours into Canea, both by sea and land, but they were repulsed by the overwhelming forces of the Turks. The Turkish cavalry scoured the whole island, the terrified inhabitants taking shelter in the towns or on the mountains. On the 13th of July, the seventeenth day of the siege, the Barbary fleet of fifty vessels full of troops, the Turkish soldiery of Algiers, Moors, and Arabs, arrived off Canea, and the troops were disembarked to join in the siege. On the 27th the Turks fired a mine successfully, and brought down part of the defences ; but the general assault that followed was repulsed. Three other assaults were unsuccessful ; but, when a fifth general assault was on the point of being delivered, the Venetian Governor hung out a white flag. His garrison was reduced to a handful of men, his fortifications were in ruins, and the Greek inhabitants were clamorous for surrender, dreading the horrors to which they would be exposed in the event of a successful assault. Accordingly a capitulation was arranged on terms both favourable and honourable to the besieged, who were permitted to depart with their arms and baggage, and all the inhabitants who chose to accompany them were allowed to do so with their property. All preferred to leave rather than trust themselves to the tender mercies of the Turks ; and they betook themselves unmolested to Candia. "During the night," says Auliya Effendi, "the infidels embarked for their cursed country."

Yusuf Pasha made a triumphal entry into the ruined town. Four thousand Sipáhis, and four thousand Janissaries, Jebejis and Topjis were told off for its garrison (nau-batji) with four thousand Pioneers, who were at once set to work to repair the fortifications.

The crosses were torn down from the churches, which were turned into mosques, and Auliya Effendi, afterwards chronicler of the siege, who was Muezzin to the Commander-in-Chief, Yusuf Pasha, called the faithful to Moslem prayer. He says: "The clarions sounded after the prayer was performed, the shouts of 'Allah!' pierced the skies, and a triple salute was fired, the report of which shook not only Rome and Persia, but the whole of earth and heaven. From seventy to eighty thousand men were immediately dispersed over the seven hundred and seventy miles of the island, taking booty, day and night, in the ways of God. Gold, silver, and brass vessels, fine boys and pretty girls, were carried in immense numbers to the Ottoman camp, where there was such an abundance that a boy or girl was sold for eighteen piastres."

The Doge and Senate, as soon as they heard of the descent of the Turks on Crete, declared war against the Sultan, and strained every nerve to provide a fleet and army. The former was soon ready, but still too late to effect anything for the relief of Canea, off which port it arrived after the capitulation. "The Admiral," says Auliya Effendi, "when he saw the Crescent on the tops of the steeples, instead of the Cross, became blind from weeping." The Turkish fleet had gone to a safe anchorage in the Bay of Suda, and showed no disposition to encounter the Venetian fleet, which proceeded on to Candia.

The war which now commenced lasted for twenty-four years, exhausted the resources of the Republic of Venice and of the Turkish Empire, and is said to have cost the lives of a quarter of a million of combatants. It opened the eyes of Europe to the real weakness of the Ottoman Power, which was always menacing the peace and threatening the

conquest of Christendom ; and yet now proved itself scarcely able, after putting forth its utmost efforts, to overcome the resistance of a second-rate European State.

There were great rejoicings throughout the Turkish empire on the news of the fall of Canea. Pelisses of honour and promotions were liberally showered upon the officers of the army and of the contingents from the Barbary States. It was too hastily assumed that Crete was conquered. The Turks had overrun all the open country, but the seaport towns still held out, and they proceeded to reduce them one by one. The lands of the island were divided as fiefs among the soldiers of the victorious army, who elected to remain and settle in Crete. It is said that many of the Cretan Greeks turned renegade to keep possession of their lands.

Generally the Greeks under Venetian rule were so despised by their aristocratic masters, and so harassed by Romish propaganda, that they found little to choose between Venetian and Turkish rule. Under the latter, at least, all sects of Christians were treated with the same contemptuous toleration.

Yusuf Pasha, instead of trying to finish the conquest of the island at once, put the regular troops into winter quarters, and brought back the rest to the mainland, leaving a Pasha as Governor of Crete to re-open the campaign in the spring. Meanwhile the Venetians were busy increasing their navy and levying troops. They hired regiments of Piedmontese, Swiss, and Germans, and continually threw reinforcements and stores into Candia. They worsted the Turkish fleet in several partial encounters, scoured the coasts, landed in Tenedos and on the plains of Troy, and carried off five thousand Turks : men, women, and children, doomed to labour for life in the galleys or to be sold as slaves in the Christian ports of the Mediterranean. Sultan Ibrahim was furious when he heard of this, and wanted to issue an order for the massacre of every Christian in his dominions, and his ministers with difficulty dissuaded him from his mad design. He then fell foul of Yusuf Pasha

because he had not completed the conquest of Crete; and when Yusuf answered him boldly, the Sultan flew into a passion and had him beheaded on the spot, a not unusual ending to the career of a Turkish general, whether unsuccessful or not. The Venetian fleet blockaded the mouth of the Dardanelles, and the Turkish fleet was unable to put to sea. Nobody dared to tell this news to the Sultan, and though the blockade was maintained for several years, he remained in blissful ignorance of it to the last.

Meanwhile the Turks in Crete gradually reduced all the towns. Retimo fell in November, 1648, after thirty days of open trenches and repulsing two general assaults. The Venetian prisoners sent to Constantinople after its capture were impaled and suspended alive on hooks for the amusement of the populace.

Only Candia, the chief town of the island, still hoisted the standard with the Lion of St. Mark. In March, 1648, the Venetian fleet was shattered by a storm, and eight of their galleons and eighteen galleys foundered; and the Turks took the opportunity to throw reinforcements into Crete. On the 5th of May Deli Husain Pasha opened the trenches before Candia. The siege lasted the whole summer. The Knights of Malta, the Pope, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany sent fleets, which threw succours and reinforcements into the town. The siege was pressed with the greatest fury, and the place as resolutely defended. In repulsing a sortie Deli Husain was shot through both jaws with a musket-ball. Thirty mines were exploded by the besiegers and several assaults made without success. On the approach of winter the Turkish troops mutinied, and refused to continue in the trenches.

Deli Husain rushed into the throng of the mutineers with his drawn sabre, and cut a Janissary almost in two at one stroke. But he could not succeed in quelling the opposition to the renewal of operations, and he was obliged to raise the siege. He was at this time Turkish Governor of Crète, and was a bold and active soldier. He kept the Turkish forces

in the island in good order, and prevented the Venetians from making descents on the coasts. He could not, however, prevent them from re-taking the castle in the island of San Todero, from which they attempted to repossess themselves of Canea, but Deli Husain foiled all their efforts. The Turks in Crete continually received reinforcements, which managed to cross from the Morea and from Rhodes, eluding the vigilance of the Venetian squadrons, and Turkish vessels also often ran the blockade of the Dardanelles under cover of the night. In 1649 Deli Husain collected all his forces, and again sat down before Candia on the 30th August, and the Turkish army never again quitted their camp before the devoted city for the space of more than twenty years. An enormous number of pioneers were employed in breaking ground before the fortress. Within two months seventy mines were exploded, and one thousand Turks had fallen in fruitless assaults, in one of which Count Colloredo, the governor of the town, was killed.

The operations had already been protracted into the winter, when orders came from Constantinople to send back thither three regiments of Janissaries to help to overawe the populace of the capital, who were openly showing their disapproval of the eccentricities of the mad Sultan Ibrahim, who surpassed Heliogabalus in luxury, and rivalled Nero in cruelty.

Three regiments were accordingly recalled from the trenches; upon which the other six regiments also quitted the batteries, and they could not be prevailed on to return to the siege. Deli Husain was therefore obliged to turn the siege into a blockade, which lasted without interruption for seventeen years; but as the town was open to the sea, the garrison was in no need of supplies or reinforcements. The ~~Turks~~ Turks huddled themselves and built a fort to protect their camp; and a Musalman town sprang up around it, which they called New Candia.

In 1650, a Turkish fleet escaped from the Dardanelles during the night, and reached Crete with 1,000 Sipahis,

4,000 Ulufajis (paid cavalry), and four regiments of Janissaries; but Deli Husain still considered his forces insufficient to renew the siege.

For sixteen years more the war was entirely naval, except in Dalmatia, where the Turks suffered a severe defeat from the Venetians at Sebenico. In 1654 the Porte made a supreme effort to break the blockade of the Dardanelles: they collected a fleet of forty-five galleys, twenty-two sailing ships and six Maonas, and engaged the co-operation of the Barbary Statés: aided by the fleets of the latter, the Kapitan Pasha Murad attacked and defeated the Venetian fleet of two galliasses, eight galleys, and sixteen sailing ships, and raised the blockade. Next year, however, the Venetians fitted out a larger fleet, and attacked the Turkish fleet under Kenaan Pasha, and almost completely destroyed it. Out of seventy nine sail of the Turks, including galleys, sixty-six were either sunk or taken. After this victory the Venetians resumed the blockade, and besides conquered the islands of Lemnos, Tenedos, and Samothrace. In 1657 the Turks made another desperate effort to break the blockade: they were defeated, but as the Venetians were following them up the strait, a lucky shot from one of the castles on the shore struck the magazine of their flagship, and she blew up with a tremendous explosion, which covered the narrow sea with a dark pall of smoke, and strewed its surface with the fragments of the wreck and the scorched and shattered limbs of the crew: and in the confusion which followed the Turks were able to turn the tables on their enemies. In 1660, the Venetians, aided by the Knights of Malta, the Papal forces, and some French adventurers, made another fruitless attempt to regain possession of Canea: they then landed at Candia, and tried in vain to drive the Turks from their position before the town. Next year they again defeated the Turkish fleet off the island of Milo, sinking six vessels and capturing two. The Turks had been now for some time engaged in a war with the Emperor of Germany, and the Grand Vazir, Ahmed Kuprili, was in command of a large army

on the Austrian frontiers. The war was at last terminated by the cession of Varasdin and Neuhausel to the Turks, and the Vazir was left at liberty to turn the whole weight of his arms on the Venetians. He determined to reduce Candia, which had now held out against the Ottoman forces for more than twenty years, and had been twice besieged in vain.

Deli Husain Pasha had been recalled, and his head taken off as a recompense for his long and faithful services, on some false and trivial charge preferred against him by men who were envious of his reputation, and apprehensive of his rivalry : and several Pashas had succeeded him in turn in the government of Crete, and the command of the troops before Candia. The Grand Vazir now determined to repair thither in person, and to stake his reputation on the reduction of the obstinate city, the last refuge of the infidels in Crete.

Ahmad Kuprili, surnamed Fazil, or the Righteous, was a man of strong character, and of much more intelligence than is common among Turks. He and his father, Muhammad Kuprili, who was Vazir before him, did much to raise the Ottoman empire from the slough of vice and corruption in which it was wallowing, and to restore the old renown of the Turkish arms. They introduced economy into the finances, and order into the administration. They roused the old Turkish spirit of war and conquest, and nothing was talked of but the Holy War, the extension of the territory of Islam, and the final subjugation of the infidels. Ahmad Fazil Kuprili was himself an honest and sincere bigot, and to plant the Crescent above the Cross was his one supreme object and desire. He had already made territorial conquests from the Germans ; and he now determined to finish the Venetian war by the reduction of Candia, and the final annexation of Crete to the Ottoman Empire.

Accordingly he ordered munitions of war, and timber and all things necessary for siege operations, to be got ready in different parts of the empire, for transport into Crete. A large fleet was to be fitted out at Alexandria, to convey the

military forces of Egypt across to Candia. The Barbary regencies were again summoned to send ships and troops. Tunis and Tripoli promised compliance ; the Algerines pleaded that they were engaged in a war with France, but would send what help they could spare. The Grand Vazir himself left Adrianople in July, 1666 (the *Annus Mirabilis* of Dryden), and crossed the Bosphorus, and marched through Asia Minor to a point on the coast near Rhodes, where he embarked for Crete, arriving at Canea on the third November. He at once repaired to the camp before Candia, where he reviewed the troops, and reconnoitred the town. He inspired his men with his own zeal and alacrity ; materials for the siege were rapidly collected ; and troops and volunteers for the war poured into Crete from the ports of the Morea, and of Asia Minor, eluding the vigilance of the Venetian cruisers. Towards the end of January the Egyptian fleet of twenty-one sail hove in sight of the island, and was simultaneously attacked by a Venetian squadron, which was cruising to intercept it. The Egyptian flagship was set on fire and burnt, and five other ships taken ; the rest managed to reach the harbour of Canea, where they disembarked the troops. By May all the siege material had been collected, and the total number of Turkish troops before Candia amounted to seventy thousand men. On the 25th of May the Grand Vazir held a council of the Pashas and Aghas to determine the dispositions for the siege.

The fortifications of Candia had been added to and improved by the most skilful engineers of Europe during the twenty years that the enemy had been before the walls ; and they were now deemed to be all but impregnable. The *enceinte* on the land side consisted of seven bastions, called respectively Saint André on the north-west, Panigra (probably a Greek corruption of Pantocrata, an epithet of the Virgin), Bethlehem, Martinengo, Jesus, Vetturi, and Sabionera on the north-east. The curtains connecting these were covered with horn works and demi-lunes, and several detached forts ; and behind the bastions were cavaliers commanding their

interior, to render them untenable if taken by the enemy. The whole front was covered with palisades, places of arms, covered ways, and caponnières of the most approved and scientific construction : the bastion Martinengo, in particular, presented such a labyrinth of cunningly devised obstacles to the unwary assailant, that the Turks christened it "the Swine's Snare," as a delicate compliment to the skill of its defenders.

They gave their own names to all the other works of the defence also : for instance, they called the bastion of Bethlehem "al Yahudi" (the Jew) ; and these nicknames are used in the description of the siege operations by the Turkish historians. But Turkish annals are as a rule of but little use to the searcher for historic truth : as Von Moltke says, "Instead of history the Turks write only inflated bombast."

In spite of the number of the Turkish forces, it was obviously impossible to carry such a strong place by a *coup de main* ; and Ahmad Kuprili determined to commence a regular siege. He himself, though a brave soldier, was not a skilful commander : but his defects were owing more to want of education than of aptitude. He resolved to win Candia by the same tactics by which General Grant in our time won Richmond : viz., by giving two, or even three lives of his own men for one of the enemy's. He invested the town along the whole of the land side, and his multitude of pioneers soon covered the slope of the glacis with a labyrinth of burrows. The breaching batteries were constructed and mounted, and a storm of shot and shell directed upon the town. The Vazir selected the three bastions of Panigra, Bethlehem, and Martinengo as the objects of attack : probably because they were the furthest from the sea, and so the works were less liable to interruption from the Venetian fleet. The Grand Vazir himself, with the troops of the capital and the European provinces, undertook the operations against the bastion Panigra ; the Egyptian troops and the Barbary contingents assailed the bastion Bethlehem and the demi-lune Mocenigo ; and the troops of Anatolia attacked the

bastion Martinengo and the crown-work Santa Maria. The trenches were opened on the 28th May ; the overwhelming number of the Turks prevented any chance of a successful sortie ; their pioneers and sappers worked by relays night and day, and carried their trenches and galleries up to the counterscarp.

Shortly after the commencement of the siege, the Venetian Captain-General Morosini arrived to take command of the garrison ; and reinforcements of Knights of Malta and some Papal troops arrived. The Venetians kept up a continual cannonade upon the Turkish camp and trenches, and met the besieger's mines at every point with counter mines, which they carried under the Turkish saps, and often blew up their approaches, filling up the trenches with the bodies of the pioneers who were digging them. Up to the beginning of September, during the three months the siege had lasted, one hundred and eighty-two mines had been fired by the Venetians, and one hundred and fifty-two by the Turks.

The approaches were pushed on fastest against Panigra, where the Vazir himself directed the exertions of the choicest troops of the empire. The walls of the bastion were laid in ruins, and in October a general assault was delivered. The Turks swarmed into the bastion, and five of their standards were already planted on the walls, when three mines, each containing seventy barrels of powder, were exploded under them, and standards and assailants were blown into the air. The garrison decapitated the Turks who had fallen inside the defences, and threw their heads out over the walls.

On the 11th of November the Turks sprang four mines under the repaired ramparts of Panigra, and again mounted to the assault. After a desperate struggle, in which the Agha of the Serdengichdi (Forlorn Hope), the Janissary Agha, and the Jebeji Bashi were killed, with numbers of their best soldiers, the assailants succeeded in establishing themselves in the ruins of Panigra. The outworks of Beth-

lehem and Martinengo had been taken, but all assaults on the bastions themselves had failed, and new works had been erected behind Panigra, completely cutting it off from the body of the place, and making it untenable.

The winter rains began, and on the 18th of November the Grand Vazir suspended operations, having already lost eight thousand men killed, of whom four hundred were Janissaries. One Beglerbeg and many Pashas, Beys, and Aghas, and one of the Mameluke Beys of Egypt were among the slain.

Two Venetian envoys, Messers Gavarino and Padarino, had arrived in the camp to treat, but the Vazir insisted on the surrender of Candia as a preliminary to any negotiation, which the Venetians would not hear of, so no agreement could be come to. However, Ahmāḍ Kuprili had buoyed up the courage of the troops by telling them that the envoys had come to arrange for the surrender of the town, hoping that it would be taken before the deceit should be discovered ; but when he found there was no hope of taking it that year, he had the two envoys secretly put to death, to prevent the troops discovering that he had been amusing them by false promises. He then had the effrontery to write to the Signory of Venice, reporting that the two envoys had died of fever, and asking that a fresh agent be sent, empowered to treat for the surrender of Candia. It is difficult to believe in such perfidy on the part of a man celebrated by the Turks as "The Righteous," but the story is vouched for by the accurate and conscientious Von Hammer. And we must remember that the exercise of a Musalman's virtue extends only to Musalmans ; and that all infidels are regarded, as the Gentiles were regarded by the Chosen People, as outside the pale of humanity.

The Turkish troops were kept in the trenches during the whole winter, occupying them every day in six regular reliefs, four of which were taken by the Janissaries, and two by the irregular troops.

The Grand Vazir occupied the time in raising shore

batteries, to prevent vessels entering the port of Candia ; he was thus able to annoy all Christian ships entering the harbour, but could not succeed in stopping them altogether. He also fortified the anchorage of Chanakliman close by, and made a depôt there for stores and supplies ; and the Turkish ships and gallies now came in there instead of going round to Canea. He also established a cannon foundry, and cast twenty new guns and ten mortars of large calibre, and also some guns of the same calibre as the Venetian pieces, in order to utilise the thirty thousand cannon shot which the besieged had fired into his camp, and which he caused to be carefully collected. All the Turkish battering guns were re-cast, having become worn out by excessive firing.

Morosini had taken the sea with twenty gallies from Candia, and cruised before Chanakliman to intercept Turkish reinforcements and stores.

Memi Pasha, of Rhodes, was coming to Crete with twelve galleys ; but being afraid of the Venetian squadron, he put into Retimo, from whence he sent to the Vazir asking him for orders. The Vazir sent Khalil Pasha with twelve hundred picked men to reinforce him, and desired him to come on to Chanakliman. He was intercepted by Morosini. Memi Pasha, and Dourak Beg, the corsair, who was with him, wished to retire before such a superior force ; but Khalil Pasha insisted on their fighting. Memi Pasha and Dourak Beg were both killed, and six of their galleys taken ; Khalil Pasha escaped with the other six to Retimo.

However, soon after the Kapitan Pasha Kaplan (the Leopard) arrived with a large Turkish fleet. He defeated the Venetian fleet under Giorgio Vitali, at the isle of Nio, and put up a monument with a tablet and an inscription commemorating his victory, which has been rescued from oblivion by some Christian antiquary, and is now in the museum at Milan. After this, reinforcements were poured into Crete. Four thousand Sipâhis and Silâdhars (paid cavalry), one thousand Mamelukes, eight hundred Janissaries,

five hundred Jebejis, one thousand Topjis, one thousand Laghúmjis, with 15,000 shell, 20,000 grenades, and 80,000 round-shot, and all siege material in abundance, were landed in the island, and convoys of ships were employed bringing provisions from Smyrna.

The trenches were re-opened early in June,* but this time the principal attacks were directed against the sea-bastions at each end of the *enceinte* : St. Andre and Sabionera. The detached fort of San Demetrio outside the latter work was at last taken. A fresh Venetian envoy arrived in the Turkish camp, but he had no authority to treat for the surrender of Candia, but referred the Grand Vazir to the Captain General Morosini. The Duc de Feuillade, an adventurous French knight errant, who had already distinguished himself against the Turks in Hungary, when Ahmad Kuprili was beaten in a pitched battle by the Imperialist general Montecuculli, arrived in Candia at the head of five hundred noble French soldiers of fortune, who had organised an expedition at their own expense. These gallants, after signalling their valour in the defence of the ramparts, proposed to Morosini a general attack on the Turkish camp, and when he refused to hazard his troops in such a rash enterprise, they undertook it by themselves. Before dawn they mustered in the ditch of Sabionera ; but the Turkish batteries opening and concentrating their fire upon their lurking-place, told them that their enemies had been forewarned of their attempt by some traitor in the town. Nothing daunted they sallied forth sword in hand, and drove the Turks from their trenches before Sabionera ; but the whole Turkish army came down upon them, and they were finally driven into the town with the loss of half their number killed and wounded.

The fame of the defence of Candia had spread through all Christendom, and its crumbling ramparts became a school of arms for noble volunteers from every country of Europe ; while Ghazis from all parts of the Musalman world, Tartars, Turks, Moors and Arabs repaired to the camp of the Vazir

to win the title of Mujahid or "the crown of martyrdom." The age of the crusades seemed to have returned. Ten ships from Tunis, and ten from Tripoli, arrived in Crete this year, but the Algerines were still occupied by their quarrel with the French.

A more serious danger than the sorties of the garrison now menaced the continuance of the siege. The Sultan Muhammad the Fourth wrote to the Grand Vazir, complaining bitterly of the enormous expenses of the siege, and urging him to finish it at once, or otherwise to put an end to the war. The contents of his letters leaked out and came to the ears of the troops, who were heartily weary of the fatigues, hardships, and dangers of the protracted siege. The Sipáhis and Janissaries broke out into mutiny; they surrounded the tent of the Grand Vazir and stoned him when he came out to address them. Their Aghas assailed the mutineers with blows and reproaches, and finally succeeded in shaming them into returning to their duty. The siege operations were again suspended by the arrival of winter: but the indefatigable Vazir kept the trenches strongly guarded, and redoubled his activity in preparing for the renewal of the siege. He wrote to the Sultan assuring him that Candia was about to fall, and that it would be an eternal disgrace to Islam and to the Ottoman Empire if they should succumb to the infidels after a contest of twenty years.

In the spring the siege was recommenced. As the ground was solid rock between San Demetrio and Sabionera, the Turks brought earth in immense quantities, and built up their approaches over the surface of the rock with sand-bags strengthened by gabions and fascines. On the 31st of March the Janissaries stormed Sabionera, but immediately they had established themselves in the bastion, the Venetians sprung a mine, blew hundreds of the assailants into the air, and in the confusion re-took the bastion. On the 7th of April the Turks sprung a mine under the rampart of the Sabionera and brought a great

part of it into the ditch. The troops were all in the trenches ready to assault, but they could not be induced to advance: they contented themselves with opening a tremendous fire on the bastion, but the utmost efforts of the Vazir and Pashas could not prevail on them to mount the breach. The Venetians had meanwhile, with tremendous labour, tunnelled under the rock on which the Turkish trenches were built up, and they now sprung a mine, which shattered the solid rock into fragments, shook the city and the country for miles round with its explosion, and engulfed the Turkish works. The Turkish troops again began to murmur: but the Janissaries were kept to their duty by the exertions of their Kulkiaya (Lieutenant General) Abdi Agha, who became afterwards Pasha of Buda, and who died in the breach when that city was re-taken by the Germans in 1686.

A body of seven hundred volunteers did actually mutiny, protesting against the hardships they were exposed to; but the rest of the troops remained staunch, and the mutineers were glad to purchase pardon by consenting to man the mines at the Sabionera, the most dangerous place in the whole siege-works. Fierce encounters took place daily underground in these subterranean galleries; Musalmans and Christians continually toiled and strove for mastery in a gigantic labyrinthine rabbit-warren.

Meanwhile the Most Christian King, influenced by the appeals of the Pope, had fitted out an armament for the relief of Candia, under the command of the Duc de Noailles, with whom were the flower of the French nobility, the Duc de Beaufort, the Count St. Pol Longueville, the Chevaliers Vendome, d'Harcourt, Lorraine, Bouillon, Dampierre, Beauveau, Colbert and many others, with six thousand soldiers: "a herd of irrational swine" (Khanázir-i be tadbir) according to the Turkish chronicle of the siege. The arrival of such a large reinforcement to the garrison struck dismay into the Turks: and at the same time letters came from the Sultan, giving the Vazir *carte blanche* to act

according to his judgment. Ahmad Kuprili called a Council of War of all the Pashas and Aghas of the troops to deliberate on the best course to be pursued, and he himself withdrew from the deliberations, to give full freedom of discussion. One of the officers, named Rasul Agha, then made a spirited speech to the Council, reminding them of the toils they had undergone, and the bloodshed they had witnessed; and asking them if all their labour, and all the blood of so many martyred Musalmans, should be spent in vain? The voice of the Council was unanimous for the vigorous prosecution of the siege, to the great joy of the pious Vazir.

Soon after their arrival the French troops made a general sally upon the Turkish works. It was at first successful, and the batteries and trenches were carried in many places. Unfortunately a powder magazine in the Turkish trenches caught fire, and blew up some of the Frenchmen: a panic seized the rest, and they fled back into the town, leaving twelve hundred killed and wounded in the hands of the Turks. The Vazir gave ten piastres for each Frenchman's head brought to him, and seventy piastres for each living prisoner. The brave young Duc de Beaufort had been foremost in the sortie, and he was reported missing after it; nor was his body ever found, though the French offered the Turks its weight in gold for it, and the Vazir ordered search to be made for it. The jewellery taken from the bodies of the French knights and noblemen made a rich spoil for the Turks, and the Ottoman camp became for some time a mart for precious stones.

On the 3rd July, a fresh Christian squadron anchored before the town, consisting of fifteen French, nine Papal, seven Maltese, and four Venetian ships. Another general attack by land and sea was made on the Turkish camp, but no serious impression could be made on the numbers of the Turks. A French ship was blown up early in the day, which put the attacking fleet into confusion, and the enterprise miscarried.

The Turks, relieved from the apprehension of interruption, renewed their approaches in thirteen different places. Four of their saps were run by the Janissaries, one by the Ajam Oghlans or Janissary recruits, one by the Jebejis, one by the Sagbans (dog-keepers) or foot-guards of the Grand Vazir, three by the feudal militia of Rumetia, two by that of Anatolia, and one by the Cretan Militia. Seventeen assaults were delivered in rapid succession, and in several places the Turks crowned the *enceinte* and looked down into the town. Morosini was for still holding out, but, unfortunately, there was a misunderstanding between him and the Duc de Noailles; the French commander attributing the Venetian's caution to treachery, when it really seems to have proceeded simply from prudence. There was bad blood between the French and Italians, and the former were chagrined at their heavy losses and disappointed of reaping the glory which they had expected.

De Noailles declared that the town was untenable, and determined to return to France. The Maltese and Papalini shared his opinion. The latter had brought with them to Candia the Turkish child, born in the Seraglio and taken with his mother in the capture of Sumbulli Agha's pilgrimage five-and-twenty years before. His captors pretended to believe that he was a son of the Sultan, and named him Ottomano, and he was brought up to the Christian priesthood. Padre Ottomano had been sent to Candia from political motives, though what effect was expected from his presence there it is not easy to discover. He was glad enough to leave the place again with his protectors. On the 31st of August the allied squadrons weighed anchor and left Candia to its fate.

Morosini remained, with less than four thousand men, to defend the town, into which the Turks were breaking on every side. It was hopeless to prolong his gallant defence, and he hung out the white flag.

Ahmad Kuprili, on his side, was too anxious to gain possession of the long-desired prize to risk any chance of another

repulse. Hostages were exchanged—as was always the custom in any negotiation between Turks and Christians—neither of whom would trust the other. The Vazir, who could not contain his joy, feasted and royally entertained the Venetian hostages. Plenipotentiaries were appointed on both sides, and after seven days a treaty, in eighteen articles, was drawn up, by which Candia was surrendered, on condition of the garrison and all the inhabitants being allowed to depart with all their property; and the island of Crete was ceded by Venice to the Turks.

On the 26th of September the standard of the Cross was lowered from the flagstaff on the Arsenal of Candia. On the 27th the Grand Vazir made a triumphal entry into the town, and received the eighty-three keys of the gates and public buildings. The last of the garrison embarked for Venice the same day. Ahmad Kuprili then hastened to receive the congratulations of his old mother, whom he had brought to Crete during the siege, to comfort him with her counsel and advice, and who had steadfastly exhorted him to persevere in winning glory and profit for Islam. On the 3rd of October he held a grand divan in Candia, when promotions, rewards, and pelisses and dresses of honour, plumes and decorations were lavished on officers and men of the victorious army; and pompous despatches were dictated, to be transmitted to all quarters of the empire, containing the joyful news of the triumph of Islam. They who participated in that triumph never dreamed that it would be the last.

It was a dearly bought triumph. In the conquest of the island it is computed that more than two hundred thousand Turks perished during the twenty-five years of the war. In the third and last siege, which endured for nearly three years, one hundred thousand Turks were put *hors de combat*, of whom thirty thousand were slain. The Venetians estimated the Christian loss during the siege at twelve thousand killed and twenty thousand wounded. The garrison had made ninety-six sorties, and had sustained fifty-six assaults, and fifty-five subterranean attacks. They

had sprung eleven hundred and seventy-two mines ; while they reckoned that the Turks had exploded three times as many. The Venetians had thrown more than forty-eight thousand shells, and more than one hundred thousand grenades, besides five thousand eight hundred made of glass.

Candia had undergone three sieges, the last of which had been closely pressed for nearly three years, and the blockade of the city on the land side had lasted more than twenty years. Many of the besiegers had spent the best part of their lives before her walls. Never had a fortress been more strenuously attacked, or more obstinately defended, during all the wars that had been waged with but little intermission, for the past thousand years, along the frontiers of Christendom and Islam.

Crete has ever since remained a province of the Ottoman Empire. Fifteen years later, when the defeat of the Turks before Vienna united Germany, Poland, Russia, and Venice against the Crescent, the Venetians attempted to recover Candia ; but the fortune of war diverted their arms to the Morea, and Crete remained under the Turkish yoke. Only the hardy Klephts of Sphakia, like the mountaineers of Czernagora, continued to defy the Pasha and the tax-gatherer in the fastnesses of their inaccessible mountains.

The general insurrection of the Greeks on the mainland seventy years ago was soon followed by a rising of their compatriots in Crete. The Turks were massacred or driven to take refuge in the fortified towns. But Muhammad Ali, Pasha of Egypt, despatched a force of disciplined troops under his son, Ibrahim Pasha, to quell the insurrection in Crete. His newly raised regular army had just been employed in driving the fanatical Wahhabis from the holy cities of Arabia ; and now it was diverted from the destruction of Moslem zealots to the extirpation of Christian rebels. The war was carried on in Crete with the same ferocious contempt for the laws of humanity that always marked the struggles of the Turk with his revolted

subjects, and Musalmans and Christians vied with each other in deeds of perfidy and cruelty. But the regular tactics and discipline of the Egyptians seconded their numbers too formidably, and though the rebellion broke out afresh several times, it was at length finally and ruthlessly suppressed. Crete remained in the occupation of the Egyptians for some time, and then was handed back to the Sultan on the settlement of the differences between Turkey and Egypt, through the mediation of the European Powers. Since then the Christian population of the island has been in a chronic state of agitation against Turkish rule, which has culminated more than once in overt insurrection: a state of political unrest, only aggravated by repression, and encouraged by concession, and which can never be remedied but by satisfying the national aspirations of the Cretans for a political union with the kingdom of Greece.

When we remember that the inhabitants of the seven Ionian islands preferred annexation to Greece to remaining under the foreign rule of Great Britain, in spite of the firm and just administration, and the material advantages, which they enjoyed from the connexion: we cannot be surprised that the Cretan Greeks should have the same desire in a still greater degree, living as they do under an alien, infidel, feeble and corrupt government. In the gradual but steady decay and disruption of the Ottoman empire, it cannot be long before a second partition of the territories still ruled over by the Sultan follows the first partition effected by the Treaty of Berlin: like the analogous successive partitions of Poland. The case of Crete and Armenia to-day is exactly the same as that of Bulgaria and Herzegovina, before their separation from the Ottoman dominions.

FRANK H. TYRRELL.

THE TEMPLE OF JAGANNÁTH:

It is presumed that the intelligent readers of this Review are more or less acquainted with the principles of the Hindu mythology, in which, considering the vastness of our empire in Hindustan, and the very large number of subjects of the Queen-Empress concerned in such enquiries, it becomes a matter of extraordinary interest to pierce the crust of obscurities, and reach what was styled, many years ago, "those strata of pseudo-religious fiction in which are preserved the débris and the fossilized skeletons of the Faith."

If religion in the West be an organized devotion, as has been affirmed, notwithstanding these mythic iniquities, to which we are about to give some attention, it is certainly not less so in the East. And this is peculiarly applicable to Jagannáth and the worship at his Idol-Shrine. Taking the best Oriental authorities, we learn that the term Jagannáth is to be found written in at least a dozen different ways. But there is no dubiety as to the word itself in the Sanskrit and its dialects. The only letters there are *j, g, n, nath*—each consonant having in it the inherent *short* sound of *a*. According, therefore, to Sir William Jones's system, the word should be written Jagannáth. It is compounded of two words, *Jagad* (in composition, *jagan*), world, and *náth*, lord, meaning "Lord of the World." With reference to this high-sounding title, it is curious to remark that the celebrated Buddhistic King, Asoka (325 B.C.), built a temple at Gya (in Behár) while possessing the title of *Ruler of the World*. This nominal assumption of power over all nations is, as doubtless many of our readers are aware, likewise found in the mandates of the Kings of Assyria. Púrí, the city of the Idol-Shrine, is situated on the western coast of the Bay

of Bengal, in the Province of Orissa, forty-nine miles south of Cuttack, and 298 miles from Calcutta. It is also called Jagannáth, which name, the Brahmans say, is derived from that of the "prodigious idol venerated by the Hindus."

Our first visit to Púrí Jagannáth dates many years back ; but this fact is rather in our favour than otherwise, as our notes were taken at a time when the transition state of the Hindu mind was less rapid and confused than it is now, or when the Kali Yûg, or present evil age, corresponding with the iron age of the Greeks, was slower in its progress than at the present. Still, in its chief characteristics, the religion of Jagannáth, or the worship at his Idol-Shrine, like other things Oriental, remains unchangeable in the midst of change ! So, with the hope of entertaining our readers for a brief period, we shall again act the part of the inquisitive traveller, and explore a little amidst the sand-hills and the south-west face of the town. It is sunset, and the sun has just brightened the dingy hue of Jagannáth's temple, while the sea sends forth its never-intermitting roar. About half-a-mile from the town, on the seashore, is a place of note, styled "Surgdwar"—Swerga-dwara—the gate of heaven. Here the relatives of deceased Hindus bury or burn their corpses, when they are believed sure of an immediate entrance into paradise, body as well as soul. Swerga is the paradise of Indra, god of the elements, bringing to memory the lines in Southey's "Curse of Kehama," where Indra says :—

" No child of man, Ereenia, in the bowers
Of bliss may sojourn, till he hath put off
His mortal part ; for on mortality
Time and Infirmity and Death attend."

As you, perchance, kick against a skull in the sand, you are led to think that there is a terrible reality about the last line ; for, sure enough, "Infirmity and Death" do attend in their blackest colours the many fanatics who year after year visit the Swerga-dwara of Púrí. Having inspected several

minor shrines near the seashore, and the Púrí burial-ground—a small magazine of mortality, containing tombs of the military man, the civilian, and the missionary—we proceed westward to Jagannáth's temple, that familiar beacon to the navigators of the Bay of Bengal, which is said to have been built at an expense of from forty to fifty lakhs of rupees, or about £500,000. The Temple of Jagannáth is stated to have been built in honour of Vishnu, the preserving member of the Hindu triad; and here it is curious to remark that there is not a temple in India dedicated to the worship of the creative member, or Brahma. Siva, the destroyer, has many of his own throughout the land.

The most confusing portion of Hindu mythology is that belonging or relating to the *avatas*, or descents of the deities upon earth in human or other shapes. Many of the Hindus admit Buddha (wisdom)—that quiet, sleepless philosopher, who has given so much trouble to men of science—to be an incarnation of Vishnu; but others among the Brahmans and different tribes deny their identity. Jagannáth is likewise said to be one of the popular incarnations of Vishnu; but his far-famed temple being situated, as particularly remarked by Colonel Sykes in his learned "Notes on Ancient India," "on or near the site of a celebrated relic temple of the Buddhists," there is every reason to believe that the modern worship of Jagannáth has a Buddhist origin. According to a former Head Clerk of Púrí, who wrote on the subject:—"During the Satya Yûg, or gold age, the temple was erected by Maharajah Indradyumna, who placed within it the three idols: *Jagannáth*, his brother *Bulbhudra*, and his sister *Subhudra*. A fabulous story of the famed Maharajah's proceeding to heaven to invite Brahma to consecrate Jagannáth, follows, which is similar to one related by Stirling in his "Account of Orissa," who in no way connects it with history, but merely alludes to it as a fable, or one of the many ingenious speculations which have been hazarded upon the origin and meaning of the worship of Jagannáth. Both authorities have their great Monarch or Indradyumna, in

the Satya Yûg. After the celebrity given by Indradyumna to Jagannâth (A.D. 480), it is written that the temple was *entirely covered with sand*, in which it remained buried for a long time. It would therefore be unknown to travellers during that period; and this circumstance, or a want of reverence for the shrine, may be in some way connected with the decline of Buddhism in the province. Colonel Sykes alludes to a Chinese traveller, Kiuan-thsang, who makes no mention in his passage through Orissa, during the early part of the seventh century, of the Temple of Jagannâth, "now so celebrated and venerated." The Ganga Vansa, princes of Orissa, so distinguished for their liberality in the erection of public works, rank among their number Unung Bhîm Deo, and Langorâ Narsinh Deo: to the former is generally attributed the restoration or completion of the present temple; and to the latter the construction of that dark, sublime, massive pile, about eighteen miles distant, and beside which we have stood with wonder and admiration—the far-famed Black Pagoda, with its classic faces sculptured here and there on the marble, so beautiful, in a few instances, that they hardly seem to belong to the vile world around them. The circumstance of the Temple of Jagannâth being entirely covered with sand, we are told, was brought to the notice of Rajah Unung Bhîm Deo, who immediately set out to discover it, and happening to find the spot, he then *removed the sand*, and the temple was *restored*, A.D. 1198. If Unung Bhîm Deo did not build the greater portion of the present edifice, to him may be attributed the erection of the grand tower. He probably likewise built the whole of the minor temples within the enclosure, while he was engaged, at an enormous expense, in flooding Pûrî with a barbarous magnificence, which, in some measure, has lasted even to the present day. In thirty years the population of Pûrî rose from 40,000 to nearly 80,000, of which about 4,000 were priests—priests or attendants upon Jagannâth. Taking a telescopic view of the Temple from an elevation of one mile and a half north-

east of the town; we behold the Bar Dewal, or great tower nearly 190 feet high, towering majestically above the dark and gloomy landscape below. The entire height of the tower from the ground is about 210 feet. Adjoining the Bar Dewal, and rising to a height of some 70 feet, two square pyramidal-roofed buildings strike the eye; they appear elaborately carved, with a nearly flat apex, from which, like that of the great tower, rises a small irregular cone, apparently composed of circular stones, the top-stone surmounted by a sort of urn. Numerous temples, of various shapes and sizes, are to be seen in the enclosure, to the right and left of the Bar Dewal. The great tower and adjoining buildings bear on their summits the *Chakra* (wheel), Vishnu's symbol. Stirling compares the shape of the towers or temples of Orissa—and they are all somewhat similar to the Bar Dewal of Jagannáth—to a phial with the stopper inserted. We think it better to compare them to old-fashioned pepper-boxes; but, perhaps, the likeness is more remarkable at the 999 Sivan temples of Bhubaneswar than at Jagannáth. The eye of the traveller must now be content, until having left the eminence from which we have been attempting a description, and proceeding on our tour of research, we at length enter the town of Púri, and passing along through the silent streets, by houses with raised foundations—some of the domiciles composed of mud, others of masonry—we speedily find ourselves before the *Sinh Durwazeh*, the lion or eastern and principal of the four entrances to the great Pagoda. Regarding the dimensions of the lofty stone wall enclosing Jagannáth's temple, and the general measurement of the sacred buildings, every author differs; and this is not strange when we consider that neither Christian nor Mussulman has ever been allowed to cross the threshold. We believe there is one solitary case in which a Major Carter, at the risk of his life, managed to enter with the pilgrims the sacred shrine of Jagannáth: such was the danger attending the too inquisitive traveller on his visit to the

Uryan "Holy Land," as the ground about the temple is called. The roof of the buildings particularly that of the Bar Dewal, are said to be singularly ornamented with various representations of monsters ; and the walls abound with carvings of demons and giants of every description. In niches on the outer walls are various well-executed illustrations of Hindu obscenity. We have no space to further describe the exterior of this most celebrated shrine in India. We should have liked to dwell a little on the beautiful column of black marble—some forty feet in height—at the principal entrance, brought from the Temple of the Sun at Kanaruk, and formerly surmounted by the image of the monkey-god, Hanuman, and numerous other matters mythological and architectural ; especially considering what Heeren tells us, that the architecture of India is the daughter of its religion ; but it is necessary to proceed with our narrative. Towards the close of the sixteenth century, the Mahomedans took entire possession of Orissa ; and we now behold, under the power of the iconoclastic zealots, the high priest of Jagannath stealing away with the three carefully wrapped up images, to conceal them in the hills. From this petty warfare the much-talked-of but little understood pilgrim-tax derived its origin. The tax on pilgrims yielded the Mogul Government a revenue of 900,000 rupees. The Mahrattas, who succeeded them in the government of Orissa, levied the tax ; and the British followed the example of their predecessors. Before 1803, when Jagannath fell into our hands, the king, a Mahratta chief, exacted tolls from the pilgrims passing through his territories to the great idol-shrine. At one place the toll was not less than £1 9s. for each foot-passenger, if he had so much property with him. When a Bengali Rajah used to go, he was accompanied by one or two thousand people, for every one of whom he was obliged to pay toll. The Honourable East India Company's government levied a tax of from one to six rupees on each passenger. A pilgrim-tax was established at Gya and Allahabad by the Moguls about the same time as that at Jagannath.

From an old document before us, we learn that the forefathers of a certain class of Brahmans from time immemorial visited Jagannáth, and that they were permitted to perform their ceremonies without "impediment, delay, or molestation," by the successive rajahs or chieftains of the district. The descendants of these Brahmans and their relatives visited the Temple while it was under the Mahratta jurisdiction, and were invariably treated with every attention and assistance by the pundahs or priests. These people term Jagannáth "a venerable fane of Hindu reverence." In their opinion a pilgrimage to Púrí is one of the most important acts of observance enjoined to a Hindu in the ritual of his religion. "At this resting-place," say the deluded creatures, "the mind receives its last solace when all prospects in life are commonly drawing to a close." Such is the importance of the Mecca of Hindustan—the chief seat in Eastern India of Brahmanical power—the principal stronghold of Hindu superstition—to which pilgrims at the present day resort from every quarter of India. The pilgrim hunters of the latter end of the 18th century must have found little difficulty in causing multitudes to undertake the pilgrimage, especially when the Mahratta power and name extended from the Himalayas to nearly the extremity of the Peninsula. *En passant*, it may be stated that, during the influence of Mahomedan power in Orissa (at intervals from 1568 to 1758, when the province was yielded by Ali Verdi Khan to the Mahrattas), Jagannáth was celebrated far and wide. It had its numerous priests and imposing ceremonies, and, above all, its multitudes of pilgrims, from whom the Moguls, as already remarked, drew a large revenue. Lord Auckland in our time abolished the pilgrim-tax, but ordered that a donation of Rs. 36,000 a year, which had been paid out of it, should be continued from the public exchequer.

It is the opinion of some great Oriental scholars that no portion of Hindu mythology is more uncertain or confusing than what treats of the Ramas. Relating to Vishnu, perhaps the best way in general is to consider only the two principal

incarnations—the seventh and eighth, Rama and Krishna ; although there are three distinguished personages, all Ramas, the sixth and seventh incarnations being Parasu Rama and Rama Chandra ; the latter a moiety of Vishnu, styled the same, and being the same, as Jagannáth, “the lord of the world.” Rama is sometimes made synonymous with Krishna (the Hindu Apollo). In Orissa, Jagannáth is invariably styled Ram Chandra. “Rama,” says Elphinstone, “was a King of Oudh, and is almost the only person mentioned in the Hindu traditions whose actions have something of an historical character.” His queen, Sita, who was carried off by the giant Ravána—which caused the far-famed monkey expedition to Ceylon under General Hanuman—we believe to be the original of the present Subhudra, the sister of Jagannáth. The heroic deliverer was Bala Rama, the elder brother ; so, then, we have the three idols, *Jagannáth*, *Bulbhudra*, and *Subhudra*, corresponding respectively with Rama Chandra, Bala-Rama, and Sitá. These celebrated idols of the shrine are thus described :—They are bulky, hideous, wooden busts. The elder brother, Bulbhudra, is six feet in height ; the younger, Jagannáth, five feet ; and her sister, Subhudra, four feet. They are fashioned with a curious resemblance of the human head, resting on a sort of pedestal. The eyes of Jagannáth are round, and those of Bulbhudra and Subhudra, oval. The images are painted black, white, and yellow, respectively ; their faces are exceedingly large, and their bodies are decorated with a dress of different coloured cloths. The two brothers have arms projecting horizontally forward from the ears. The sister is entirely devoid of even that approximation to the human form. Than these wretchedly degrading illustrations of want of taste and intellect, there are no more terrible examples in the world's history ; and we cannot help being of the decided opinion that before entering on other work of a “National Congress,” if the educated native gentlemen of India were to give all their might towards abolishing such monstrosities of idolatry as are to be found at Jagannáth, or the worst portion of

them, so much the better for the future welfare of their country.

To proceed with the sad realities of an idolatry, which, since the Puránas crept insidiously into the land of the *Veda*, can now only be deemed revolting and disreputable. Truly Brahmanism for mythic iniquity and a check on the progress of intellectual man, has far outstripped Buddhism, which, after all, in ancient India, as at the present day, is simply the old patriarchal system. We shall merely further remark at this stage, with reference to the comparative purity and excellence of the old Hindu *Vedas*, and bearing in mind the halo of science which so long adorned the old Brahmans, that the *Puránas*, or works in which the present abominations appear, are said to have been composed by different authors between the eighth and sixteenth centuries, A.D., and that one of their principal objects is to promote the glory and rule the conduct of festivals, to promote religion through the gratification of the eyes and the senses; and which, in some respects, during our boasted means of civilisation in India, has led men to rival in obscenity the most degraded of their race. The forming of a new idol of Jagannáth is termed *Nooah Kullebur*. It used to take place (and probably does still) once in seventeen years, when two moons occur in Assur (part of June and July). We have two versions of the extraordinary preparation and renewal, both amounting to nearly the same thing. A Nim tree (*Melia aza dirachta*) is sought for in the forests, on which no crow or carrion bird has ever perched. This is prepared into a proper form by common carpenters; it is afterwards entrusted to certain priests, who are protected from all intrusion. The mysterious process is said to consist of a man or boy—an honoured personage selected by the craft—taking out from the breast of the old idol a small box containing quicksilver (*said to be the spirit*) and placing it inside the new. *Removal from the world before the end of the year* is the reward of this spiritual act towards his majesty of Jagannáth. It may interest some of our

readers to learn that the process of renewal formerly cost no less than £500 sterling. The case of murder just referred to we believe to be a matter of doubt. It is, probably, founded on one of the legends of the Jagannáth worship, by which the pundahs, or priests, endeavour to frighten believers into a continual adoration of the idol. Stirling asserts that some conjecture a sacred deposit "in the belly of the image" to be a bone of Krishna. This, and the small box of quicksilver in the breast, it would seem, are precious relics, held in similar veneration to the tooth of Buddha. Bishop Heber and Colonel Sykes are both eloquent on this tooth. The latter remarks in his "Notes": "The tooth of Buddha had been brought or obtained from the King of Kalinga (Orissa), A.D. 275, by King Mahasana, or Mahasen, of Ceylon, who died, however, before its arrival in the island. This celebrated relic, after falling into the power of the Mulatars and the Portuguese, is now safely lodged under the lock and key of the English."

Let us now turn briefly to the great annual festival of the Ruth Játra, or car festival. Historians have often remarked the surprising resemblance which exists in the external worship of India and Egypt: in the religions of both countries, bloody and unbloody sacrifices; the strict observance of pilgrimage, causing a numerous assemblage of people at festivals; penances; bathing in supposed holy waters, and if drowned the act supposed to convey eternal bliss; their gods conveyed from one temple to another on enormous stages, erected upon huge cars. These latter customs, related by Herodotus' and commented on by Heeren, are particularly applicable to Jagannáth. At Púrí, about the middle of every year, three huge cars, or ruths, are built for the Ruth Játra, at which festival the images take "an airing" as far as the Gondicha Nour, or god's country-house, a mile and a half distant. The cars are dragged by Kallabethias or coolies, and by thousands of other privileged people. These cars are adorned with flags and garlands of flowers, in short with everything that Hindu art can furnish in the way of

decoration. The Dytas, or charioteers of Jagannáth, are men of great importance. The entire scene of the Ruth Játra savours, to an incredible extent, of the ludicrous, the barbarous, and the awful: the eager expectation, the unceasing din of a great multitude, the acclamations of "Jagannáth Jye!" or "Victory to Jagannáth!" which rend the air when the images are brought forth in an erect posture, or rather *rolled* forth by means of iron handles fastened in their backs, and exposed to the stupid gaze of a delighted people. The ponderous machines are set in motion; they creak, while the creatures strain the cables in the midst of their joy and madness. Then they are, as Southey has it in his "Kehama":—

"All around, behind, before,
With frantic shout, and deafening roar;
And the double-double peals of the drum are there,
And the startling burst of the trumpets' blare;
And the gong, that seems, with its thunders dread,
To astound the living and waken the dead."

But all their enthusiasm has soon subsided; and, on the termination of the great festival, many of that once delighted multitude either retire to die, or reach their deserted homes, the victims of ignorance, poverty, and wretchedness. In 1846, 180,000 pilgrims—a large proportion Bengali widows—were present at the Ruth Játra; in 1849 and 1850, and in later years, about 80,000 or 100,000. At Púrí, human sacrifice under the wheels of the car has been long abolished; but we recollect, in the district of Backergunge, during our Indian service, that four persons had offered themselves as victims under the wheels. For it must be kept in mind that Ruth Játras, in honour of Jagannáth, on a smaller scale, took place, and may yet take place, in various parts of India as well as at Púrí.

An idea will have now been formed of the popularity of the religion of Jagannáth. It forms a regular and complete system of superstition, and has diffused itself over almost all the countries stretching from the banks of the

Indus to Cape Comorin. Púrí is the grand headquarters ; and the "Juggernaut" of the upper country, as well as that of Southern India, acknowledge the supreme ecclesiastical authority of the great Idol-Shrine. Brij Kishore Ghose informed us at Cuttack, while on the subject of Jagannáth, that the priests who preside over all its functions are elevated above every other order of men, by an origin not only deemed more noble, but acknowledged to be sacred. He was also of opinion that the rites and ceremonies of the worship were "pompous and splendid," while the performance of them not only mingled in all the transactions of common life, but constituted, in the opinion of the worshippers, an essential part of their existence. It is to be hoped that through the force of education such a feeling is diminishing in its dangerous strength. This intelligent Hindu was one of the rarest mixtures of superstition and common sense we have ever met ; and we had ample opportunity of coming to such a conclusion while editing his little work on "The History of Púrí." A Brahman writing as follows, at any rate, was a proof of the dawn of intelligence in India ; while it showed that the "better part of man" was gradually creeping into the Hindu mind : "The loss of life by this deplorable superstition probably exceeds that occasioned by anything else ; and death, in some shape or other [particularly that angel of death, the cholera, which makes fearful havoc among the pilgrims] is met with in every direction, with no one to assist the dying pilgrims : even their comrades, and the pilgrim-hunters who brought them, forsaking and abandoning them in their last moments."

We may add to what has been already remarked on the subject, that all the land within ten miles of Jagannáth is considered holy. At one period the whole of *Utkala*, as Orissa is styled in the *Puránas*, must have been held sacred.

With reference to Buddha, it may be interesting to remark the likeness which exists between an ancient procession of Sákya (Buddha) and one of Jagannáth. At the

end of the fourth century, Chy Fa Hian, or Fahian, (signifying "Manifestation of the Law)," with a small band of co-religionists, crossed the frontiers of their native China, for the purpose of reviving a zeal for Buddhism. Fahian found the whole of the nations, people, or tribes, between the frontiers of China and the Indus followers of Buddha, and ruled by Buddhist princes or priests. At Khotan, the worship was celebrated with "extraordinary magnificence"; and the procession of Buddha on his pyramidal car, the showering of flowers, the draught of the car by the people, and other circumstances, "recall to mind," says Colonel Sykes, "the annual Hindu procession at Jaggarnáth," meaning the Ruth Játra. Before proceeding to notice a few details of the worship, or the interior economy of the Temple, it may be noted, as not irrelevant to the subject of this essay, that on possession of the town of Púrí being taken in 1803 by the British troops under Lieut.-Colonel Harcourt, according to the admirable policy of the Marquess Wellesley, *conciliation* and *protection*, with the strictest injunctions to *enter into no binding arrangements*, were carried out to the fullest extent. The customs and religious prejudices of the Hindus were duly respected. Guards of sepoy protected the temples. And it is this plan of religious toleration that has secured, probably for ever, British supremacy in Hindustan. The Moguls had formerly been roused, by the flush of conquest, to burn the idol Jagannáth; and supposing the French, instead of the British, to have conquered Orissa, we can imagine them imprisoning the Brahmans; even, like Lally in Tanjore, blowing them from guns, for lingering around the temples of their fathers, and, in Orissa, hunting the high priest, like an antelope, to the neighbouring Chilka lake. The high priest of Jagannáth, in his glory, has long become a picture of the past. He has shared the same fate as the active Mahratta trooper, who, seated on his small, lean, muscular horse, was always ready to advance like a flash of lightning on the foe.

And now let us return to the one-headed—not, according

to Southey, "seven-headed idol-shrine." In the establishment pertaining to the most remarkable pagoda or idol-temple in the world, notwithstanding its vast absurdity, there is much to interest the learned and curious. What customs, similar to other nations, have the Hindus introduced among their religious ceremonies? Take one—that of dancing before the idol. The Christians of the primitive Church danced on holidays. The Jews danced before the golden calf, and are said to have brought this peculiarity of their worship from Egypt. In short, both singing and dancing, as religious customs, may be traced to very remote periods. The dancers attached to the Indian pagodas at the present day form an important part of the Temple establishment. No shrine in India is complete without them. A remarkable "statement" was presented to us at Púri, in manuscript, for revision, by the Hindu before mentioned, who had resided many years in Orissa. It is styled "The Establishment of Jagannáth, distinguished by the name of Chuttesa Nijog, or thirty-six Orders;" and, as the "statement" deals with no less than ninety-six officials, and their appointed work, the most severe Hindu ritualist cannot complain for want of variety in the ceremonial worship.

Of course the *Maharajah of Khudah*—in our time Ram Chunder Deo—heads the list as Superintendent of the Temple. He is the honorary servant to Jagannáth, who sweeps the rugs, and strews flowers on the idols. The next is *Mooderuth, locum tenens*, or plenipotentiary, who, in the absence of the Maharajah, performs the above duties. At No. 9 we have the *Moodlies*, who guard the door of the wardrobe, put the *chamur* (fly-brush made of the cow of Tartary) in the hands of distinguished pilgrims, or persons of rank, who are authorized to fan Jagannáth; they have also charge of the key of the wardrobe, and guard the door of *Jye* and *Beejye*, two heavenly porters. No. 11, *Mookh Singhar Dutt*, paints the faces of the images, Jagannáth, Bulbhudra, and Subhudra. No. 12, *Bunder Mecaps*, masters of the

wardrobe, count the ornaments when taken off from Jagannáth. The vestments presented by pilgrims pass into their custody after being worn by the idols. No. 14, *Khoontiahs*, warn the idols and rajah at the time of festivals, call the *Pussupaluks* (who are appointed to wake Jagannáth), and bring forward the vestments and necklaces with which he is to be invested, watch cats in the temple, distribute the sacrificial flowers to worshippers and servants, and take care of the horses. No. 34, *Purharries*, *Gocheekars*, and *Dwar Naiks*, watch at the gates and doors. Those of the southern gate cry out, "The sacrificial food is coming." They also watch the food, and when Jagannáth moves out, carry beside him the sweet smelling wood, allow no one to enter while Jagannáth is at his meals [the god is said to eat fifty-two times in the day]. No. 57, *Kahaliah*, a trumpeter, at all festivals, during the service and the offering of flowers, plays the *Kaaleeh*. No. 59, *Ghuntooahs*, persons who sound the *Ghunts*, or brass basins, during Jagannáth's meals, and when he goes on a journey ; *literally*, the bell-ringers of Jagannáth. No. 70, *Bithar Gaonees*, courtesans, who sing the songs in the Temple which precede the anointing of Jagannáth with sandal-wood. No. 96, *Chuttesa Nijog Naik*, the head officer of thirty-six different orders of ministerial and other officers, who adorns the idol, and does other personal service for it. Such is a slight selection from the curious "statement" of Brij Keshore Ghose ; and we most respectfully recommend it to the especial notice of all extreme worshippers, or those who are anxious to decorate or equip religion.

There is one important personage omitted by the Hindu author, the *Hakeemeeshristar-buru-pureecha*, the great judge of all questions, who holds the golden cane. But, on the whole, his list presents the most numerous establishment of Jagannáth yet published. A "statement" is also given by Mr. Peggs, in his "Orissa Mission," in some respects a very valuable work. Hamilton in his "Hindostan" says there are thirteen annual festivals of Jagannáth. No stated num-

ber is given by Brij Keshore Ghose. A few of the principal deserving of notice may be mentioned : *Chundun Jattrā*, sweet-scented powder. *Snan Jattrā*, bathing festival, which happens on the day of the full moon in the month of Jeth (June), when the images are brought from their throne and, after their bath, embellished with flowers ; a proboscis made of sola (or straw) is then fastened on each of their faces, to give them the appearance of elephants. The *Ova*, or shining festival. *Hara Punchumee*, the fifth day of the car festival (*Ruth Jatra*) : Lukheedebē is taken to visit her husband, Jagannāth, on the car at night. One of considerable importance among the Hindus may be especially mentioned, the *Dole Jattrā*, or swinging festival. We might also have noted the *Bawum Junum*, or dwarf-birth festival, as a dwarf frequently belongs to the Hindu temple ; and, to make the lamentable fooling more complete, the *Dyna Choree*, festival of stealing Dyna, or *Artimisia Indica*. There are two descriptions of ablutions of Jagannāth in the Temple, which often take place when numbers of people are assembled at various festivals. The most important ablutions last about four hours in each instance, during which time no other ceremony is performed, to the great inconvenience of the people, who experience much difficulty for want of *Muhapurshad* (holy food), on which they live, as the offerings are delayed for the above purposes. It is to be hoped that such heartless conduct has totally disappeared since our visit to Púri.

It is supposed that in the festival of Ruth Jātra, food is cooked within the kitchen of the Temple for at least 90,000, and elsewhere for 70,000 pilgrims, at a fair price ; and on such occasions the 400 families of cooks are fully occupied. The potters make earthen pots of different sizes ; the food is carried away in them. New pots are always used. After the evening meal, about eleven o'clock at night of the eleventh day of the moon's increase and wane, the Choourahs perform the ceremony of lighting the Maha-deeps, or sacred lamps, on the top of the large tower and on

the two adjoining temples, in honour of the Rajah, and welcome him with shouts and cries of "Ramchunder Deb Maharajankoo, sumrajyo aghya huoo : Sree ungo aroghyo thaoo !" or "Commend the Kingdom to Maharajah Ramchunder Deb (or whoever the Superintendent may be), and keep him in perfect health." This is said to be the custom of the Temple, and, smacking as it does of the old Assyrian ceremonial, stands forth in pleasing contrast with the glaring absurdities, or the "damnable heresies" we have already noticed. There are two occasions on which the people within and about the Temple enclosure are expelled; in other words two regular clearances are made. The first takes place when the female relatives of the ex-Rajah of Khurda (should there be one) visit the temple for worship, and to perform certain ceremonies. The second is only a partial clearance, and is allowed when the females of the Rajah Superintendent and the chiefs of the Tributary Mehals of Orissa, and females of respectability and distinction, wish to visit the shrine for the purpose of private worship. In the latter cases, a written permission was obtained from the Rajah on payment of a fee. We might have remarked that the Hindu worshipper prostrates himself; and, on giving his offerings (*Bhoge*) to the priests, is marked on the forehead. Exclusive worshippers of Ganesa—the fat and elephant-headed son of Siva—and Surya, god of the sun, are seldom found among the Hindus; and their marks, on which we cannot afford space to dwell, are little different from those of the orthodox followers of Vishnu and Siva. The subordinate gods being all underlings of these two, this must necessarily be the case. After such and various other considerations arising from the subject of the present sketch, we are naturally led to think of "the beast and his image," and man receiving *his mark in his forehead* in the *Revelation*! Vishnu's singular incarnation of Kalki, the horse, with reference to the same book, when the "Preserver," mounted on a white horse, with a drawn scimitar in his hand, blazing like a comet, is coming to renovate creation with an era of purity, is also very suggestive.

With reference to the important subject of *castes*, on which the progress of the Indian Congress—if it is destined to make any—so much depends, and the effect of which on our own Anglo-Indian empire is a matter of serious importance, it is supposed that the divisions of caste were anciently “secular and not religious, as the four castes, as they were called, existed equally amongst the Buddhists as amongst the Hindus.” Brahmanical caste is considered to be a *divine ordinance*, whilst the Buddhist is supposed to be *simply a civil institution*. Strictly speaking, there is no Buddhistical caste. It is the suspension of caste at Jagannāth, where the people eat, or used to eat, together—caste in its severe interpretation—which strengthens the supposition that the worship of the far-famed idol—an opinion shared by the eminent French Orientalist, M. Manupied—is of Buddhist origin. Regarding the question of whether or not caste anciently existed as a *religious distinction*, we should imagine it impossible to come to any satisfactory conclusion. Caste is truly the life-puzzle of our Indian social progress.

While writing these few remarks, our attention has been drawn to a meeting of the Aylsham Literary Society (in the middle of January), where, in a lecture, some very pertinent observations were made concerning the Indian Congress. Mr. Lee Warner observed “that English statesmen must always be prepossessed in favour of these free institutions, and the elective and representative system which had made England great. . . . But until the upper classes of Indian society were allowed by their religious views to recognise the rights of the lower classes, and until the masses were partially educated, the infusion of the new wine of Western and Christian institutions in Asiatic bottles would be insecure. . . . In this vast theatre for the adoption of forms of government by India’s own people, where the castes who formed the congress in British India were the rulers or the powerful ministers of rulers, the Asiatic type of rule (absolutism), laws favouring

the upper classes, the combination of law-making power and of highest judicial functions in the hands of the executive, and, in fact, a despotic control over the whole population, far greater than ever prevailed in England since the Norman conquest, still continued. In short, when India's educated and privileged classes got power under Home Rule they used it despotically, and showed no sort of regard for popular rights. Again, the experience gained in British India under municipal and local boards had not yet shown that the masses appreciated the transfer of Government control to the educated or upper classes."

While concluding our subject, we must notice a really useful piece of local self-government at Púri-Jagannáth, which gives hopes of better days, even for this garden of superstition and idolatry. One of the most interesting and most important features of Púri is the vast number of *muths* or monasteries it contains—in some respects resembling the Burmese *Kyoungs*. These establishments are said to have been originally founded in India by a sect styled *Gosais* or *Gosains*. Each muth is governed by a *Mohunt*, who, with his disciples, forcibly reminds one of the abbot and friars of European history and romance. In Orissa, an assistant, styled *Adhi-Kari*, transacts part of the business of the Mohunt, and, if he be "a proper man," eventually succeeds to the management. It is affirmed that the principal disciples of the founder of this sect were of the Siva religion; at Púri the thriving members of the order are all of the religion of Vishnu, as if far more in accordance with the attribute of the Preserver, than with those of the Devil or Destroyer. "If any member of a *muth*," says a learned writer on the subject, "be particularly distinguished by his acts of hospitality, veneration for his ancestors, and a life of morality, he receives from the Dusname—a sort of managing committee for the internal administration of muths—the honorary title of Mohunt." Still, like all such associations, west as well as east, they are liable to

great abuse. Brij Keshore Ghose informed us that there were thirty principal muths or "richest muths," and he gave the amount of annual rent, and estimated value of land pertaining to each. Of these endowments of the temple of Jagannáth, he informed us that the produce of the lands was realised by the *Muthdaris*, or abbots, who by this means, though professing themselves mendicants, "have become the richest merchants in India, and are now enjoying every comfort." The Muthdaris annually obtain a sufficient *spare sum* to defray every expense attending worship at Jagannáth. From a "Summary of Important Events Connected with the Temple of Jagannáth," which we drew up many years ago, we extract the following:—Under Lord William Bentinck, in 1832, it was proposed to abolish the pilgrim-tax at Jagannáth, and to interfere less than ever in the management of the Temple—the Sudder Board of Revenue citing, to uphold their arguments for non-interference and the abolition of the tax, the case of Sutti, "the best motives for regulating the burning" increasing rather than diminishing the rite. During Lord William's administration, the surplus proceeds of the pilgrim-tax were used for the construction of roads and *surais* (places of rest) for the comfort and accommodation of the pilgrims, which sums, being "inadequate for the purpose," were augmented from the public finances. In March, 1836, Lord Auckland became Governor General of India. Towards the end of the year 1838 he penned a confessedly able minute on the general subject of Jagannáth. The President in Council resolved, in accordance with the opinion expressed in his lordship's minute, "wholly to relinquish the tax on pilgrims, but, as already touched on, to continue the yearly donation given for the support of the temple, for which the Government is pledged!" This was the substance of Act X. of 1840.

In 1844, the donation paid in cash, nominally as a pension to the superintendent of Jagannáth, amounted to Rs. 35,758. Shortly after it was reduced to Rs. 24,600;

and in 1845 to Rs. 23,321. In 1851, the Honourable East India Company determined entirely to disconnect itself from Jagannáth, if it could do so without positive breach of faith. In the same year, under the famous administration of the Marquess of Dalhousie, the draft of an Act appeared, the object of which was to relieve Government from all necessity of making any further donation to the Temple.

In September 1864, the following information was first obtained from the India Office : In 1843, the only remaining portion of the endowments, viz., the Suttaree Hazaree estate was relinquished to the Rajah of Khurdah, as superintendent of the affairs of the Temple, the revenues of which amounted to Rs. 17,420 per annum ; and the payment by Government was reduced on the transfer to a fixed sum of Rs. 35,738 7a. 6p.

In 1845 an investigation into the nature of the payments took place, the result of which was that, thenceforth, the Government payment was limited to Rs. 23,321, the amount of resumed endowment and of compensation for Sayer (tax).

In 1852, the severance of the connection between Government and the Temple was ordered—upon which the Government of India, in 1855, decided in favour of a transfer of land “to the Rajah of Khurdah, as Superintendent of the Temple, to be held by him in trust for the Temple, and also by his successors, so long as they shall continue to hold the office of Superintendent.” In order to prevent accidents, and to preserve the peace at the festivals, a police establishment, at a cost of Rs. 6,804 per annum, was to be kept up by Government ; but the amount was to be charged to the Temple's funds. A transfer of land of the value of Rs. 16,517 (after deducting the cost of the police force) was proposed to be made to the Rajah in lieu of any payment from the Public Treasury. These measures were approved by the Court of Directors in their dispatch to the Government of India, in the Public Department, dated 12th November 1856, No. 112.

No events of much importance have occurred at Púri for

many years past. We have gone over, as briefly as possible—so as not to weary British readers—what may be called the main features of the Temple of Jagannáth, and the worship attending it, as well as British connection with the celebrated shrine. We could have made the subject occupy five or six times the space allowed ; but our readers must turn, for further information, to the graphic pages of Ward, Buchanan, Moor, Crauford, Stirling, Dr. Duff, Peggs, Brij Kishore Ghose, Hunter, and several others ; among the latter the author of “Orissa, the Garden of Superstition and Idolatry,” and “the Idol-Shrine,” from both of which the leading facts of this article are taken. Through the enlightened liberality of Lord Dalhousie, the author was allowed access to all the official documents regarding the Temple of Jagannáth, and British connection therewith. In Southey’s poem of “The Curse of Kehama,” will also be found much interesting Hindu mythological poetry about Jagannáth. It is, perhaps, notwithstanding its exaggerations, and the abuse it received from the *Edinburgh* in that Review’s most palmy days, the best Hindu mythological poem in the English language. Lord Byron, however, said that, by writing it, Southey had tied another canister to his tail ; and the father of modern criticism, Lord Jeffrey, protested against the poem, as a “damnable heresy.” Neither India, nor its mythology, was in those days properly understood, even by eminent superficial students of the subject. There is no fear of such a contingency now, if we have a system of national instruction, west as well as east, which, in the words of a great scientific philosopher passed away, “shall either reconcile or disregard those hostile influences under which the people are now perishing for lack of knowledge.”

W. F. B. LAURIE.

CHINA IN CENTRAL ASIA.

IN the February number of the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society appeared a paper on the Great Central Asian Trade Route from Peking to Kashgar and Ili, and to this our readers are referred. My object in writing that paper on an ancient and present cart and pack-animal trade route and the future railway route between the extreme East and West was to enlist an interest in that portion of the Chinese Empire through which it runs, and part of which, at least, has hitherto been considered to be of small importance to China, and, consequently, much less so to ourselves. I refer to her transmural possessions of Mongolia, Kashgaria, Zungaria, and, in a manner, to Thibet. They have their value to China which has always been understood by her; especially Mongolia, whence she draws her cart and baggage animals. They have their value to us also as an Imperial Power, by reason of their direct bearing on our Eastern interests.

China proper is of interest to Great Britain as a possible military and naval ally in the future, and a certain and important commercial one in the present and future. As a military ally her present value is not worth considering, and her prospective value as such depends upon so many "ifs," and the present time is so important a factor in the desired direction of army reform, upon which it hinges, that whatever future value it may have, it is, for the day, valueless. The value of our active alliance to China is great, but what present return can she make to us? Her army is of little value as it exists, and for our purposes it is useless, because immobile; and her navy is not of that strength to justify Britain, who should be the greatest naval Power of the world.

to make any heavy sacrifice to obtain the possession of it, so as to add temporarily to the strength of her fleet in Chinese waters. We should be required to give much, but what return should we receive? The use of her fleet and of her coaling-stations. Britain should be independent of all Eastern alliances for her coaling-stations, for Eastern faith is proverbially of the Punic sort. China is no match for Russia in Kashgaria or Mongolia, nor could she meet her to advantage in Manchuria, the general opinion to the contrary notwithstanding. In our defence of India she could not, therefore, aid us actively. Indeed, a study of China's interests, position, and material strength all along her Russian border, whether in Kashgaria or Mongolia or Manchuria, has led us to conclude that China has no real military strength, and must be (except as a passive ally, whose territory borders our own for thousands of miles from Eastern Burma to Eastern Afghanistan) valueless to us as a military ally during the next several decades. To form any other opinion is to hazard a conjecture of what unknown years may bring forth. They may see China with an army equal to cope with internal disorder and external foes, and valuable as an ally; or they may find her, as at present, without an efficient military system, and incapable of either defensive or offensive warfare. And yet as a military ally she is capable of becoming of immense importance to us, and our alliance with her may be the only possible one of preventing Russia realizing the dreams of her adventurous sons of the conquest of Asia. Our policy then should apparently be to endeavour to make China a *plus* quantity on the English side if possible, and at least to prevent her becoming a terrible *plus* on the Russian side. At present she counts as a cipher.

As a commercial ally she is of immediate importance, for Great Britain is her chief supplier and carrier. Under the actual or moral power of Russia, with railroads reaching to the Yellow and the Yangtze rivers, Peking and Mukden, Britain will in Russia meet with an enterprising and keen competitor, and she may cease to be, as now, her chief supplier and car-

rier, and these enviable elements of prosperity may pass to Russia, in proportion as the resources of her Central Asian possessions are developed. Sea transport has *not* driven land transport from the field in China. Tea from Han-kow still reaches Urga via the roads of Honan, Shansi, and Mongolia (Kwei hua-cheng), and Kalgan. Russia, who is displaying such energy in pushing strategic and commercial railroads through Trans-Caspia, Turkistan, and Siberia, will certainly link them with China by lines comparatively easy of construction, and passing through coal-bearing districts, to her western and northern gates, Kuldja and Kiakhta, prior to extending them via Su-chow to Sinan-fu and to Peking, if China do not do so herself. Great Britain, as a commercial nation and sea-carrying Power, cannot contemplate such possibilities with unconcern. When they shall be completed and a Russian manufacturing zone be established in Central Asia, a struggle will commence between Britain and Russia—whose raw material, it must ever be remembered, is of home growth—as manufacturing and carrying Powers, the result of which it is difficult to foresee:—a struggle between sea-carriage and land-carriage to Europe of the less bulky and most valuable articles of merchandise, of the tea, silk, wax, and multifarious productions of Mid and North China, of the provinces of Sz'chwan—the richest in China—of Kwei-chow, Hu-nan, Hupeh, Kiang-si, Honan, Shensi, Shansi, Chili, Shantung, Kansuh, and Manchuria, the most wealthy provinces and dependencies of the Empire.

The political significance of such lines is great, for a large Mahammadan population is found in Kansuh, Sz'chwan and Yunnan, disaffected towards the heathen Chinamen, and ever ready to raise the standard of revolt; and the threads binding Thibet and the mountainous districts of Kansuh and Mongolia to China are of the weakest description imaginable. Indeed Thibet is in a manner already linked to Russia by the presence of the Llama King of the Kuren, the head of the Khalkas tribes, and a personage second only to his spiritual superior at Llassa, at Urga.

The isolation of China by sea has been annulled by steam ; the time is coming when her isolation by land will cease. Britain has been the chief Power concerned in the former annulment, and it was effected by force alone. Russia is the Power that is gradually but steadily bridging the last barriers to free intercourse with the "Middle Kingdom," by her railways over the desert, steppes and mountains surrounding her to the west, round to the north and east. Will force be required to effect this change? Most probably it will, unless China take the matter into her own hands and runs her own rails, to meet those of Russia on her frontiers. In this bold course lies her best safety. These considerations should lead us to turn our attention to land intercourse from the Shan States of Upper Burma into Yunnan and the Yang-tse about Han-kow, so as to dispute with her there, when the time shall come, the trade of Central and North China ; for if it will pay her to carry goods overland to Europe in competition with the sea lines, it will be equally remunerative to us to do so to a certain extent over our Burma rails and their continuations. The three great trade routes that led in former days from China to Burma were: (1) through Sz'chwan, via Ta-tsian-lu and Bathang, to Llassa ; (2) the difficult and dangerous route traversed by Huc through Kansuh ; (3) via Ta-li-fu in Yunnan to Bhamo. The minor routes were : (4) via Thein-nee into Yunnan, also a difficult route ; (5) from Bathang via Roemah and Sudiya on the Brahmaputra. Western Yunnan may probably be best reached via Shun-ning, to be gained via Kiang-hung and the Mekong valley. A direct route from the Yang-tse-Kiang via Li-kiang-fu to Sudiya offers advantages. Another direct route leads from Compo on the Cambodia river to Sudiya or Manchee, on the borders of Assam, to west of Compo. The best route from India to S.W. China may possibly be found N.E. from Roemah, but as yet we conjecture in the dark, for the whole of the N.E. borderlands of India are practically still unknown to us. Let us hope

that enterprising travellers will now turn their attention to them, for it is of great importance that we should work out the best line of communication from India to S.W. China. Recent information points to an easy line existing to the Kun-Lon ferry from Hlaingdet on the Toungu-Mandalay railway across the Shan plateau, and to the importance of the route from Mandalay via Thein-nee and the Kun-Lon ferry (near the foot of Marco-Polo's "great descent"). The Shan States, through which these lines would run, is British territory, and most rich in agricultural and mineral products (iron, lead, silver, &c.).

Russia's Central Asian railways have already enabled her to shift her strategical lines of attack on India and China from Europe to Asia, threatening simultaneously Turkey in the West, Persia, Afghanistan and India in the centre, and China in the East. They render her ever ready for a fresh move. To withstand their menace, which has both a political and commercial signification, Britain's military object may be (1) to firmly occupy in Afghanistan the best defensive position having inherent in itself its suitability, and to defend it as laid down by the well-known laws of war on the defensive-offensive principle, being careful at the same time to employ a sufficiency of European troops to enable her to take the chief share in its defence, lest the overwhelming numbers of our Indian subjects may gain an overweening idea of their own strength and turn against us with the object of rending us; and (2) to prepare her necessary bases of operations and lines of communications to counteract the western and eastern menaces, the latter chiefly at present a commercial, but at the same time a serious, one, directed to wrest from Britain, as represented, her commanding position as chief carrier and supplier to China.

China very rightly called herself "the Middle Kingdom." She was, and still is, superior to any other Eastern Power, but inferior to any Western one. She is by some thought to be about to take a more active, intelligent and leading part in the politics of Asia. Pressure has forced her to become less

exclusive—will it force her to revolutionise her Government to the extent necessary to initiate reforms? She is becoming aware of her dangers and responsibilities, but does not know how to meet them. The Chinese learn by experience, but it must be their own experience, and this they may have to pay for dearly. Telegraphs were introduced as the result of experience. Railways they are inclined to put off as less necessary than coast defence, thereby showing their want of appreciation of the situation, for they are required for a much more urgent defence, *i.e.*, that of their land frontiers. They may not probably gain this experience till too late, although their great General, "*by repute*," Tzo, on quitting the governorship of Kansuh, a few years ago, memorialised the Emperor on their necessity for the defence of Kansuh and the Sin-Kiang province. Rather than take what to them is a step the result of which they cannot predict, they may still endeavour, as heretofore, by a display of maritime strength and coast garrisons, to deceive the nations into the belief that they *are* a strong Power and may prefer to enter into the game of politics; as better suited to their innate want of straightforwardness of character, and may hope by playing off one Power against another, to put off the evil day of reform so fraught with difficulties, but so necessary to progress and action.

A perusal of the paper to which these general remarks are complementary will have shown how the centre of gravity and of resistance of Mid-China, the Wei basin, is cut off from the rest of China by the Yellow river and its bordering mountainous region to the eastward, and the Tsing-ling-shan range to the southward, to such an extent that this Wei basin, the greatest agricultural country of the north-west, with a fertile löess soil, has played its independent part in the history of China. The Tai-ping rebellion did not cross this range from the south into Northern Shensi, and on the other hand the Mahammadan rebellion of Kansuh and Shensi did not spread south of it. As regards

products and commercial intercourse, and in fact all practical questions, the two regions are just as strongly divided.

This is a matter of importance to China, and necessitates at least one line of railway connection with the Eastern Provinces, for its isolation lays her open to invasion from Central Asia by the very road which she has herself always used for her invasions of Central Asia.

With these preliminary remarks let us here give, for facility of reference, a brief *resumé* of the Geographical description of the Great Central Asian Trade Route from Peking to Kulja and Semirechensk, and to Yarkand and India :—

Kashgaria is reached from Peking by the Ala-shan or, generally speaking, desert camel route, *via* Kwei-hwa-cheng and Barkul, and the Wei Valley route, a cart road leading through Pau-ting-fu, capital of Chili ; Tai-yuen fu, capital of Shansi ; Si-nan-fu, capital of Shensi ; Lan-chow-fu, that of Kansuh and Hami, crossing the Gobi desert between An-si-chow and this latter place. The route would be classified by the Chinese into stages as below, and would be each assumed to take eighteen days of travel—*i.e.* Peking to Tai-yuen-fu, 375 miles ; Tai-yuen-fu to Si-nan-fu, 438 miles ; Si-nan-fu to Lan-chow-fu, 449 miles ; Lan-chow-fu to Su-chow, 482 miles ; Su-chow to Hami, 418 miles ; and thence onwards, Hami to Hung-miot-za, 408 miles ; Hung-miot-za to Ili, 400 miles ; Hami to Karashahar, 420 miles ; Hung-miot-za to Karashahar, 256 miles ; Karashahar to Aksu, 373 miles ; Aksu to Kashgar, 311 miles.

Few Europeans have traversed this route since the days when the conquests of Ghenghis Khan and his successors opened Asia to the inspection of Christendom, and none have done so in its entirety since the Mahammadan rebellion in the north-west of China, until 1887, when the writer of this paper did so.

After describing the route through Shansi to Si-nan-fu and touching upon lateral communications and the mineral and agricultural resources of the districts traversed, the commercial importance of the Wei Valley is therein dwelt upon, and it is shown how this centre of gravity and of resistance of Mid-China is cut off from the rest of the empire by mountainous or hilly regions at present most difficult to traverse. The routes possible to be followed by railways are reviewed, and the necessity of this rapid communication to China, if she desire to retain possession of her north-west provinces and Kashgaria, is pointed out. From Si-nan-fu the route turns to the north-west, and leaves the fertile löess valley of the Wei, to traverse the once fertile but now devastated and depopulated hills and valleys of Shensi and Kansuh to the confines of the Gobi desert at An-si-chow. The description of the route which crosses passes elevated 10,000 feet is followed by that of the Gobi route to Hami. In conjunction with them

are considered the lateral communications, resources of the district in coal, &c., and the inhabitants both of this wedge of cultivation, held by the Chinese in the past as a means of gaining access into Central Asia, and of its lateral mountains and deserts. The importance of this bottle-shaped portion of Kansuh, the one and only natural route between the extreme east and the extreme west, as a means of communication between Central Asia and Mid-China, is pointed out, and its fitness for a railway route and its influence as such on our Chinese trade, discussed. From Hami the route over the Tian-shan to Barkul and through this range and along its northern *glacis* slopes to Hung-miot-za is described, as well as the falling away of this great range here, and the natural access that at this point exists between the Tian-shan-peh-lu and the Tian-shan-nan-lu, *i.e.* the two great historical routes from Hami to the north and south of the Tian-shan range. This section of the Central Asian trade route and of the Tian-shan range with its arid deserts and paradises of oases has not been previously described in detail.

An account of the Tian-shan-peh-lu and nan-lu is followed by a few remarks on the routes into Russian Turkistan and Ladakh from Kashgar and Yarkand.

A short summary of the various sections of the route as traversed is here given :—

From Peking the route runs over the great plain of Chili for seven days (218 miles) to Whailu, and thence for five days over the hills separating Chili from Shansi, about 130 miles broad, and passing over heights of 4,500 feet to Tai-yuen-fu. This belt of hills, of *loëss*, extends from the Nan-kow Pass on the Peking-Kalgan road in a south-west direction to the Yellow River, and is crossed by carts only at this crossing-point, and on the Tung-kwan, Honan-route, *i.e.* the Yellow River route. The hills are cut up into numberless ravines, and in them it is difficult to move anywhere off a few tracks. Shansi, now traversed, is rich in coal and iron, but does not grow enough grain for its own consumption. Between Tai-yuen-fu and Si-nan-fu the valley roads are similar to those over the *loëss* hills, and a difficult range, at the Han-sin-ling pass elevated 4,000 feet, is crossed between the Tai-yuen-fu and Ping-yang-fu basins. The roads are but deep gullies, 8 feet to 10 feet wide and often 30 feet to 50 feet deep, for miles. They are practically suited for one line of traffic only; there is not a metalled road in the country. Shensi produces abundance of grain. For days around Si-nan-fu the traveller passes through one vast wheat-field. From Si-nan-fu, capital of Shensi, to Lan-chow-fu, capital of Kansuh, 450 miles, the road passes over a difficult, hilly country, over passes of 8,000 and 10,000 feet high, and being during the greater part of the time at an elevation of 6,000 to 7,000 feet. The road is at times a fine highway, at others a deep gully; its inclines are steep; the greater part of the country is depopulated and its villages destroyed; a few of the walled towns have alone escaped the Mahammadan rebellion. No confidence has returned to the people, for it is fourteen years since the rebellion ceased and the land is still untilled; the Mahammadanis, braver than the Heathen Chinese, are feared by them. These considerations give some idea of the present weak connection that exists between

China and Kansuh. Between Lan-chow-fu and Su-chow, 482 miles, the road twice passes over heights of 8,000 to 9,000 feet by easy and gradual ascents and descents. For a part of this distance only it passes through a narrow strip of cultivation; for the rest it runs over a barren plain or amongst low hills. An easy road through a very devastated country leads to An-si-chow, bordered by the Nan-shan Mountains and the desert occupied by Tibetans and Mongols; the Chinese occupy the narrow intervening strip, which consists of cultivated stretches, deserts, and grazing grounds.

The Gobi for 200 miles is almost an absolute desert; water can, however, be readily obtained and is often close to the surface, and springs occur apparently at intervals of 20 to 30 miles in any direction. The route could be readily stocked with grass from Hami, but carters prefer to carry chopped straw and grain. The water is brackish but wholesome. At Hami, a rich oasis of no size, the two cart ruts from Si-nan-fu open out into four, two going to Kulja, 800 miles, and two to Kashgar, 1,200 miles. Here also a good camel road joins in from Peking, distant by it 1,255 miles; it passes chiefly through desert and pasture to Kwei-hwa-cheng and supplies have to be carried.

The Chinese are acting foolishly here, and give the Russian trader established in the town neither support nor justice, and the authorities behaved most uncivilly towards me, I being greeted as a "Foreign Devil" at the Yamen.

Barkul, the Chinese Pa-li-kul, is reached from Hami in three days over a pasture country beyond the pass over the Tian-shan elevated 9,000 feet; thence for 130 to 140 miles the Tian-shan is traversed by an easy cart track, leading through natural valleys, with good pasture here and there, but otherwise all desert. On leaving the hills, to Hung-miot-za or Urumtsi, a distance of 200 miles, a few towns are met with, and at intervals desert, pasture, and most fertile oases alternate. The oases are in part occupied only; the towns and villages are in ruins and rank grasses choke many of the fields.

Hung-miot-za is now the capital of Kashgaria, or the Sin-kiang or New Province, formed to include Kashgaria, Outer Kansuh, Ili, Zungaria, &c., and extending to the Russian border and Mongolia. Here the Chinese have concentrated their chief military strength, and are building a new city. There were said to be 20,000 Hunan Braves in the town and vicinity. The total town garrison would not probably exceed 2,000 men. They are very lawless, and are said to "spoil the Chentu wife." The Russians opened a shop here, but had to close it, the Chinese having a way of taking what they wanted at their own valuation. Hence the main cart road leads on to Ili, 400 miles. From Urumtsi a cart road re-crosses the Tian-shan range to Toksun, a remarkable depression in Central Asia elevated about 350 feet, by an easy pass; country, generally desert; from Toksun, a hilly country is passed through, heavy for carts; road over sand and shingle, chiefly desert for 140 to 150 miles before the oasis of Karashahar is reached, the natural eastern limit of Kashgaria; to its west lies the defensible pass leading to Khur or Khorlia, 33 miles off, whence it is 340 to 350 miles to Aksu, the country between consisting of much desert, a little

pasture land, with oases at intervals. A China boy from Chifu at Karashahar delivered himself of the opinion that *Sin-kiang no belong first chop piecie place*; it improves westwards, for several of the oases, Khur, Kuchar, Bai, &c., are of size, and in them grain is plentifully grown, and fruits and milk, in all its varieties, abound.

Aksu is an important trade centre, but a most filthy town, and here Indian merchants are first met with.

From Aksu to Kashgar the country consists of forests, deserts, and oases, some of the latter of size. Mosquitoes were in myriads between Toksun and Karashahar, and nearly killed the horses, and here the stretches of forest, some 30 to 50 miles deep, must be rushed at night, for from dawn till dusk horse-flies occupy them in millions.

At Kashgar the Russian consul makes a good show with an escort of fifty Cossacks, and his presence there is looked upon as the first step towards the annexation of Kashgaria by Russia; the Turks do not favour the Russians, but would not fight for the Chinese. They are a gone-by people and can never hope for independence; their possible future dependent position on Russia may, however, be an eventful one. The Indian traders I met with called the Turks (known locally as Chentus) a *bukha dil*, i.e., "a hungry hearted" people with few wants. This I should say describes them exactly.

A fertile country connects Kashgar and Yarkand, and from the latter town, the chief centre of Indian-trade, caravans reach Leh in a month; horses have to be trained for this hill route, which is well frequented, notwithstanding its difficulties and the loss of ponies that takes place; both are remediable, and should be remedied, for to pack animals it is a veritable passage through the Vale of the Shadow of Death in its present state.

Abstract of the distances along the Great Central Asian trade route to Yarkand, &c., as traversed between 22nd March and 6th September, 1887:—

Peking to Tai-yuen-fu	... 12 stages	375 miles
Tai-yuen-fu to Si-nan-fu	... 13	438 "
Si-nan-fu to Lan-chow-fu	... 12	448 "
Lan-chow-fu to Su-chow	... 16	482 "
Su-chow to Hami	... 15	418 "
Hami to Hung-miot-za	... 13	408 "
Hung-miot-za to Karashahar	10	256 "
Karashahar to Aksu	... 14	373 "
Aksu to Kashgar	... 13	311 "
Kashgar to Yarkand	... 5	120 "
Yarkand to Leh	... 21	419 "
Leh to Sirinagar	... 17	258 "
Sirinagar to Rawal Pindi	... 12	118 "

Total

4,424 "

Calcutta to Tien-tsin by steamer

33 days

Tien-tsin to Peking ...

3 "

'I travelled on horseback dressed as a Chinaman, and accompanied by a Sikh groom, my baggage and Chinese servant being carried in carts (two), lightly laden so as to enable us to get over thirty to forty miles daily. We lodged in the inns in China and Kashgaria, and in the Himalayas either bivouacked or pitched the light tent that I had with me. Twice we had to bivouac in the snow, overtaken by darkness on the hillside, or in a situation where tent pegs would not hold. My Chinese servant was a father to me, and I owe him much that I can never repay.

Previous to this journey, I had visited the chief maritime town and arsenals of China in 1882, and judge that in these five years her course, instead of being one of improvement, has been a downward one. The Chinese do not, unfortunately, see the necessity of keeping a non-paying concern going in time of peace to prepare for war. I found the Arsenal at Lan-chow-fu inoperative, with all its windows and doorways bricked up—and this, notwithstanding that the Tien-Tsin Arsenal, distant 1300 miles, is the nearest one to Kashgar, only an additional matter of 2240 miles of cart road from it! China is as much in the stage of "about-to-do-it" as ever, and there is no continuity in her progress; public works and affairs, both naval and military, are in unsatisfactory conditions, and the effusions of the Marquis Tseng on "China's awakening" require some practical exemplification before they can be considered other than a part of the dream that China is still dreaming. The completion of the railway to Peking, Han-kow and Lan-chow-fu, and the development of the immense iron and coal resources of Shensi and Shansi, would be practical proofs of the awakening we all so ardently hope for, but which the latest news from China leads us to expect may be long deferred. The completion of even such a limited system of railways as above, by enabling the mineral wealth of Shansi and Shensi and of parts of Honan to be exported, would vastly increase their wealth and lead to an increased importation of foreign goods,

and coal and iron would become immediately applicable to industrial pursuits, and the furtherance of additional railroad systems. Railways are destined to inaugurate an immense commercial and industrial activity in these provinces, of which we should be ready to take full advantage.

In the Geographical paper, we considered somewhat at length the advantages enjoyed by Russian traders in north-west China over our own, and we would only further remark that the traders of India and her dependencies, Kashmir and Afghanistan, are not represented in Kashgaria by British agents, nor their trade fostered in the manner which that of Russian subjects is pushed by Russian and Turkistani agencies. The Russians may establish consulates, and acquire the necessary lands for the formation of small colonies in all the chief towns of the Sin-Kiang Province and Mongolia, and may send caravans beyond the Great Wall to Su-chow, whence all unsold goods may be still further distributed inland ; and as mentioned we found a large Russian caravan of thirty carts at Lan-chow-fu, the capital town of Kansuh. It is an unwise thing to make China a present of anything, certainly not of a treaty right, which if not exercised is apt to be considered as lapsed, and we should send our goods under British agents inland, and trust there to our own rather than to Chinese agencies. The Chinese government may be sincere, and so may the Mandarins be ; yet their subordinates will still plunder a native agency by indirect means. Messrs. Collins and Co., of Tien-tsin, have an agent at Kwei-hwa-cheng, to regulate their Mongolian trade. This is the only European trading agent met with along the two trade routes from Peking to Kashgar and Ili *via* Kwei-hwa-cheng and Si-nan-fu, and none exist between the Yangtse and Si-nan-fu. Our trade in China requires now for its further development the aid of the "shop-keeping" class, a class amongst us who have as yet displayed no enterprise in the East, India even not excepted, and where a prosperous future awaits them.

What we have said, in the paper referred to concerning the

decadence of the manhood of the Chinese race and their moral deterioration by reason of opium-smoking, gives no exaggerated notion of its general results. Many of the Chinese missionaries are of opinion that these evils are sent by the Almighty, with the purpose of destroying this heathen nation. They are aware of the injury to health and energy caused by it, and appreciate the relief received at the opium refuges opened by the Chinese Inland Mission. Several requested us to cure them of the habit that they could not themselves relinquish, and our Chinese servant in his Pigeon English would remark that 'Chinaman smoke opium, he no proper man.' It affects the poor more than the rich, for, when combined with a generous diet, it is comparatively harmless. The majority of Mandarins are opium-smokers; many are sodomists, and it is on these men, and the honesty and capacity of local governors such as these, that provincial progress must depend. The lives led by Mandarins in the remote parts of the Empire must lead to sensuality and laziness; they have no interests except that of making money during their three years' term of office—no sports, no modern literature—they know little about their districts, for to observe too minutely would be wanting in dignity.

It is a mistake to think that Indian opium is to blame for this demoralization of the Chinese. It is much too expensive to be largely consumed. The opium sold in the Provinces is almost wholly grown locally; that of Shensi and Kansuh is much appreciated. Prices of this drug were taken at all the commercial centres along the route, and were as below:—

Si-nan-fu 200 to 220 cash the tael weight ($1\frac{1}{2}$ oz.; the tael = 1,650 cash)

Lan-chow-fu 250 cash (tael 1,500 cash)

Su-chow 180 cash " "

An-si-chow $\frac{12th}{100}$ silver tael the tael weight.

Hami $\frac{15th}{100}$ " "

Hung-miotza $\frac{17th}{100}$ " "

Kara-shahar $\frac{19th}{100}$ " "

Kuchar $\frac{20th}{100}$ " "

Kashgar $\frac{21st}{100}$ " "

Indian opium costs on an average four times the above rates.

Good communications alone can make the transmural possessions of China defensible and yet, at present, as we have briefly attempted to describe, throughout the löess region, *i.e.* for a length of over 1,400 miles, they could not be worse for either trade or military purposes. A few days rain or snow blocks them or halves the rate of progress over them; in July they are practically impassable for long distances from the effects of rain and floods. It is painful to watch the exertions of the animals to pull the carts up the steep and slippery inclines; the word pull is used advisedly, for it is a terrible tug. In case of necessity they could bear no strain in moving troops and supplies from east and south, towards Kashgaria, and these are the only directions whence the sinews of war can come, and to mass an army there, within any reasonable time, must mean financial ruin to China.

The ignorant Chinese frontier officials have little idea of the relative power of the border Central Asian States, or of Russia's strength beyond her frontier—China's traditional policy, one of passive endurance and resistance, will no longer avail her against a land power fighting with her resources comparatively near at hand, her communications well organized, and with an endurance and pertinacity second to none. Russia has little to fear from war with China; the only result of it could be the immediate loss to China of the Sin-Kiang Province, Kansuh and Mongolia; the approximate one of Thibét and Manchuria, and the final conquest of China to the Yang-tse-kiang. Russia in her advance to the Great Wall will be opposed by no Black Flags, such as so successfully harassed the French in Tonkin, for they, the Mahammadans of Kansuh and north-west China, and the Moñgols, will be on her side. The Tunganis or Chinese Mahammadans and the Heathen Chinees can never be other than enemies. The former will have their revenge and to gain it will submit to Russia.

The mixed races of Chinese, Thibetans, and Mongols living in the hills bordering Kansuh, Shensi, and Sz'chwan, to the westward, have no love for the Chinese of the settled provinces.

We can argue nothing from the ease with which the Chinese re-conquered Kashgaria after the many years (seventeen years) that they had spent in putting down the Mahammadan rebellion in the N.W. Provinces. A greed for territory, and a want of military knowledge, caused Yakub Beg, the Badaulat, to make the great mistake of not limiting his kingdom to the eastward, to the Karashahar district, its natural and strategic boundary, and the passes to which are commanded, by Toksun. Had he been in a position to occupy Zungaria strongly, he might with safety have stretched the limits of Kashgaria to Hami, but between Hami and Karashahar there is no intermediate defensible frontier. Driven from an impossible position, the series of fortuitous circumstances which followed upon his death led to the collapse of his power, almost without a blow being struck by his craven following, of whom a large number were Andijanais, a soldiery who were described as "gandah adam," literally "stinkers," in our school-boy's sense.

The considerations and opinions put forward in these two papers will have shown that the conquest of Transmural China is no difficult one. China is not without danger from both the side of Tibet and of Mongolia. Both are foreign possessions. Kashgaria is an unnatural appendage to China in her present state of want of rapid communication, and she is as unable to help herself in Mongolia as in Kashgaria; but it may be asked why Russia should desire to possess either Kashgaria or Mongolia. Why, because she remembers that Mongol shepherds and others swarmed out of obscure parts of Mongolia and Zungaria, and under leaders of will and energy invaded Europe and carried destruction into the heart of India and to Herat. Prejevalski's wanderings led him to conclude that even the *China of to-day* can be conquered, and I agree with him.

Times have changed, still not so much in China as elsewhere. Guided by officers of an autocrat who would take the place of the man of iron will alone necessary to lead such as the Mongols to conquest, notwithstanding the decay of their old martial spirit, the Mongol shepherds of to-day would suffice to overturn the Chinese empire, founded upon corruption and deception; for it is without any real strength, and peopled by those less spirited than themselves, and whom they do not look up to with either respect or love, and from whom they desire to wrest their lost inheritance.

The Mahammadan religion is as powerful a factor in China as elsewhere in the East, and despite massacres it is increasing, and within a century has become a power in China (thirty millions), especially in Kansuh and Yunnan.

China's safety lies in progress, in organizing railway communications suited to her commercial and military needs, and in the organization of frontier armies.

Russia's increase of strength in far Siberia and the Primorvsk Province has been slow but sure, whilst that of China in her transmural possessions has been equally retrograde, so that where in former days China was strong, and Russia weak, the reverse is now the case.

The Manchu dynasty is tottering to its fall, and, throughout the Provinces the Manchu, as a soldier, is despised, while the Hunan Brave is regarded as the warrior who does any hard fighting which is done, while the Manchu settles down permanently as a married man, and passes his time in eating, sleeping, and smoking opium. The garrisons of Sínan-fu and all inland cities are composed of both Hunan and Manchu soldiers. They practise with lances, banners, battleaxes, poles ornamented with red tassels, and tridents. These strange weapons best suit their whimsical fancies in their ancient cities, distant from all interference of the "foreign devil." They are dressed in gay jackets of red and blue; a few wear yellow garments with black devils, &c., painted on them. Such tomfooling, under the name of

soldiering, will never fit the Chinese thousands to meet the hundreds of a civilized power.

The Chinese themselves discuss the possibilities of their being conquered by foreigners, and with reference to it the transmural bazár gossip of Hang-Miotza is interesting. The Turks (Chentus) there say that Russia will, within twenty years, take Kashgaria up to the Gobi; they like the Russians, and comparing them with the Chinese think them "a good" people. The Chinese they consider to be "no good." Just now they are doing a good business, and are content, the rebuilding of Hang-Miotza bringing them in a certain amount of money. The Chinese themselves say that the Russians will take Mongolia, and the French Sz'chwan and Pekin, which former province, the richest in China, they are endeavouring to reach through Yunnan. The French Catholics generally, and in Sz'chwan in particular, are looked upon as dangerous, as they are staunch to their religion and number there over one hundred thousand souls. They also say that the English will take Shanghai, but that the English and Americans are "good" people.

Carrying our memories back to the early history of the Central Asiatic races emanating from Mongolia and N.W. China, we find that the waves of their conquests reached no permanent shore, but have now receded before the Muscovite wave which ebbs not, but constantly flows.

The greater portion of the inheritance of Ghenghiz has already fallen to Russia; Máwará-un-nahr, the Kipchák, Khiva, and Merv were the advantage grounds whence his conquering descendants streamed to occupy Khurasán, Afghanistan, Northern Persia, and India. The Oxus base, the many and easy passes over the Hindu Kush, the proximity of Kábul, now favour this latter line of advance on India and greatly increase its relative importance to the Herát line of invasion. Kábul is the historic centre of Afghanistan and an intermediate base for the conquest of India, just as the Oxus line is the base for the conquest of Kábul, the stepping-stone being Balkh. Such a historical retro-

spect curiously points out the very insignificant part played in Central Asian affairs; except as victims, by Khurasán, Afghanistan, and India.

The lessons of history are pregnant with instruction and cannot be ignored. The position of Russia in Central Asia is one to strike awe into the mind of every Asiatic; with him the memories of Ghenghiz, Timur, and Baber live. To ignore their power to kindle enthusiasm to the advantage of Russia's position, is most unwise. The prestige of the Empress of India alone in the East, as the inheritrix of the Mogul Empire, can compare with that of the Czar of Russia as the successor to the kingdom of Ghenghiz. History shows that the dominion of the latter Khakán was the stronger. How will it be now that they are respectively backed by the empires of Russia and Great Britain?

Most of the opinions expressed, both here and in the paper to which we have referred our readers, have been naturally formed from conversing with the European residents of China, travellers, and the common people, and matured by thought and after study. Many of them are founded on the shadows of coming events; these may be considered to be of the academic order; but if correctly founded, and if the shadows have been truthfully portrayed, an opportunity is given to us of moulding history to our advantage. It is this importance that we claim for them; confident in the onward march of events, rather than chance to lose the good that it is hoped to gain, opinions have been expressed, perhaps acceptable to few, regardless of the detraction and disparagement that must assail them. A traveller "moves in the field of practical experience," lives the lives of those with whom he travels, and learns to know them as few residents and no non-residents can know them. We plead the fatigues of the journey as our excuse for asserting this, and for expressing ourselves freely; for we are not content to have undergone them, and to leave unsaid what travel has taught us, and which it may be profitable to us and to China to know; however unpalatable they may be to her, they are only

meant to work her good and to save her from effacement. We have been able to do but scant justice to the political and applied geography of the vast extent of country traversed between Pekin and the limits of Kashgaria. Ethnology, races, religions, geography, and history, so necessary to its proper elucidation, have been but touched upon ; whereas, to do it justice, it should be complete in itself, and enable the political, commercial, and military reader to meet all accidents, and thus deprive accidents themselves of the character of emergencies. Space has not allowed of our giving reasons for our opinions, but be assured they are not dogmatically expressed.

Our pen has told you of but a few of the many matters bearing upon China's future, and connected with the country traversed by this important trade route, and of the utmost importance to the Empire, inasmuch as their influence reflects even to the Indian borders, holding, as we do, that if England be true to herself and Afghanistan, she can never be turned out of India till Russia's borders runs alongside of hers from Yarkand to Ta-li-fu, or even Bathang, and that then the end has come. This extension of Russia, as hinted, is no impossible one, should the Chinese not introduce a network of strategic railways. But we find that few in England care to look far into the future. It is to enlist your sympathies in the future of North-West and West China that we have wearied you with an account of our travels in the pages of the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, and by these few words, and in the hope that some of you will study the history of Mongolia, of Western and North-Western China, and interest yourselves in the ancient kingdoms formed by Ghenghiz and his successors, for history is rapidly repeating herself. Russia is assimilating, as pointed out, the kingdom of Ghenghiz ; and the Russian Czars have taken the place of those men of iron will, who carried fire and sword into Europe and Eastern, Western, and Southern Asia. We have on our side acquired the Mogul Empire, and I hope that we

mean to hold it. Some such study alone will teach us how this is to be done, for the reflex wave is rapidly rolling back in full force.

You may think to yourselves that we consider that all our geese are swans—*i.e.*, all our opinions infallible; but it is not so; we only hold that it is best to tell the truth as it appears to us, in these matters as in others, and to avoid untruths, which can only work ill.

We are apt to forget that Russia is a powerful military organism with the military knowledge, training and civilization, of the present century engrafted upon the social organization of the primitive period. She has the artillery and small arms, and, we may almost add, railways, of the present day, with as cheap and abundant a supply of men as Ghenghiz Khan had. She is surrounded in Asia by soft organisms without military knowledge, without roads or railroads, almost without government; and following the laws of progress, she naturally absorbs them one after the other. She has well nigh destroyed Turkey, and has devoured and digested at no slow rate the soft Central Asian organisms immediately within her reach. She will devour China in parts as she can digest them. We desire to save Afghanistan and Persia at least, and to warn China of her danger, that she may prepare to help herself. Shall we be too dastardly? or too mean and penurious to go the right way about doing so?

The Mongol empire once included Russia; it extended from the Pacific to Germany, and from the Arctic to the Indian Ocean; it fell to pieces on account of want of organization, and Russia rose and *is rising* from its ruins.

Russia already extends to the Pacific; she overlaps China; if she extend southward and absorb China, *nothing* can save India except the overthrow of Russia. For 300 years we fought it out with France. Shall we not rather fight it out with Russia than give place to her? Replaced by her in the East where would we trade then, for Asia would become Russian? What would become of Australasia? The

positions of China and Britain in the East are very analogous. We are, as it were, two armed men, each occupying his own vineyard, and each fronted by a Russian in the desert outside its hedge ; the one holding a fine, but the other a poor property. Will the poor man leave the rich man in peace ? No. And if stronger than he will he not turn him out ? Yes. We administer hundreds of millions of Asiatics for their good and our own advantage ; our sons' sons will never be content with a less noble heritage, and it devolves on this generation to act so as to give no cause to our daughters to curse us as the authors of the inordinate slaughter of their sons and of their decadence in power and wealth and usefulness, which must result if their interests are not now safeguarded.

MARK BELL.

ON THE SCIENCES OF LANGUAGE AND ETHNOGRAPHY.*

THE time has long passed since grammar and its rules could be treated in the way to which we were accustomed at school. Vitality has now to be breathed into the dry bones of conjugations and declensions, and no language can be taught, even for mere practical purposes, without connecting custom and history with so-called "rules." The influences of climate and of religion have to be considered, as also the character of the people, if we wish to obtain a real hold on the language we study. Do we desire to make language a speciality, the preparation of acquiring early in life two dissimilar languages, one analytic and the other synthetic, is absolutely necessary, because if that is not done we shall always be hampered by the difficulty of dissociating the substance from the word which designates it. The human mind is extremely limited, and amongst the limits imposed upon it are those of, in early life, connecting an idea, fact, or process, with certain words; and unless two languages, at least, are learnt, and those two are as dissimilar as possible, one is always, more or less, the slave of routine in the perception and in the application of new facts and of new ideas, and in the adaptation of any matter of either theoretical or practical importance. It is a great advantage, for linguistic purposes, which are far more practically important than may be generally believed, that the study of the classical

* "On the Sciences of Language and of Ethnography, with general reference to the Language and Customs of the People of Hunza," being a report of an extempore Address delivered by G. W. LEITNER, Ph.D., LL.D., D.O.L., &c., before the Victoria Institute, and republished by special permission of the Author.

languages still holds the foremost place in this country ; because, however necessary scientific " observation " may be, it cannot take the place of a cultured imagination. The stimulus of illustration and comparison, which, in the historical sense of the terms, is an absolutely necessary primary condition to mental advance, is derived from classical and literary pursuits. The study of two very similar languages, however, is not the same discipline to a beginner in linguistics, *e.g.*, to learn French and Italian is not of the same value as French and German, for the more dissimilar the languages the better.

Again, if you desire to elicit a language of which you know nothing, from a savage who cannot explain it and who does not understand your language, there are certain processes with which some linguists, no doubt, are familiar, and others commend themselves in practical experience. For instance, in pointing to an object which you wish to have, say, a fruit which you want to eat, you may not only obtain the name for it ; but the gesture to obtain it, if you are surrounded by several savages whose language you do not know, may also induce one of the men to order another to get it for you,—I suppose on the principle that it is easy for one to command and for others to obey. But, be that as it may, this course, to the attentive observer, first obtains the name for the required thing, and next elicits the imperative ; you hear something with a kind of inflection which, once heard, cannot be mistaken for anything else than the imperative. Further, the *reply* to the imperative would either elicit " yes," or " no," or the indicative present. This process of inquiry does not apply to all languages, but it applies to a great many ; and the attitude which you have to assume towards every language that you know nothing about, in the midst of strangers who speak it, is that, of course, of an entirely sympathetic student. You have, indeed, to apply to language the dictum which Buddhist Lamas apply to religion—never to think, much less to say, that your own religion (in this case your own language) is the best ; *i.e.*, the form of expres-

sion in which you are in the habit of conveying your thoughts is one so perfectly conventional, though rational in your case, that the greatest freedom from prejudice is as essential a consideration as the wish to acquire the language of others. In other words, in addition to the mere elementary acquisition of knowledge, you have to cultivate a sympathetic attitude; and here, again, is one of the proofs of a truth which my experience has taught me, that, however great knowledge may be, sympathy is greater, for sympathy enables us to fit the key which is given by knowledge. Gestures also elicit a response in dealing, for instance, with numerals, where we are facilitated by the fingers of the hand. Of course, one is occasionally stopped by a savage who cannot go, or is supposed not to be able to go, beyond two, or beyond five.

I take it that in the majority of cases of that kind, a good deal of our misconception with regard to the difficulty of the inquiry lies in ourselves—that ideas of multitude connected with the peculiar customs of the race that have yet to be ascertained, are at the bottom of the inability of that race to follow our numeration. For instance, we go up to ten, and in order to elicit a name for eleven, we say “one, ten”; if the man laughs, change the order, and say “ten, one”; the chances are that the savage will instinctively rejoin “ten *and* one,” and we then get the conjunction. Putting the fingers of both hands together may mean “multitude,” “alliance,” or “enmity,” according as the customs of the race are interpreted by that gesture.

I am reminded of this particular instance in my experience, because I referred to it in a discussion on an admirable paper on the Kafirs of the Hindukush by the eminent Dr. Bellew, who, I hoped, would have been present this evening. If you do not take custom along with a “rule,” and do not try to explain the so-called rule by either historical events or some custom of the race, you make language a matter entirely of memory; and as memory is one of the faculties that suffer most from advancing age, or

from modes of living and various other circumstances, the moment that memory is impaired your linguistic knowledge must suffer,—you, therefore, should make language a matter of judgment and of associations. If you do not do that, however great your linguistic knowledge or scholarship, you must eventually fail in doing justice to the subject or to those with whom you are dealing.

The same principle applies as much to a highly civilised language like Arabic, one of the most important languages in the way of expressing the multifarious processes of human thought and action, as to the remnant of the pre-historic Hunza language with which I am going to deal to-night, and which throws unexpected light on the science of language.

Let us first take Arabic and the misconceptions of it by Arabic scholars. In 1859 I pointed out before the College of Preceptors, how necessary it was not only to discriminate between the Chapters in the Koran delivered at Mecca and those given at Medina, but also to arrange the verses out of various Chapters in their real sequence. I believe we are now advancing towards a better understanding of this most remarkable book. But we still find in its translation such passages, for instance, as, “when in war women are captured, *take* those that are not married.” The meaning is nothing so arbitrary. The expression for “take” that we have there is *ankohu*—marry, *i.e.*, take in marriage or *nikáh*, as no alliance can be formed with even a willing captive taken in war, except through the process of *nikáh*, which is the religious marriage contract. Again we have the passage, “Kill the infidels wherever you find them.” There again is shown the want of sympathetic knowledge which is distinct from the knowledge of our translators who render “*qátilu*” with “kill” when it merely means “fight,” and refers to an impending engagement with enemies who were then attacking Muhammad’s camp. Apart from accuracy of translation, a sympathetic attitude is also of practical importance, *e.g.*, had we gone into Oriental

questions with more sympathy and, in consequence, more real knowledge, many of our frontier wars would have been avoided, and there is not the least doubt that in dealing with Oriental humanity, whether we had taken a firm or a conciliatory course, we should have been upon a track more likely to lead to success than by taking action based on insufficient knowledge or on preconceptions. For instance, in this morning's *Times* there was a telegram from Suakim about the Mahdi, to the effect that El Senousi was opposing him successfully. I do not know who El Senousi is, but very many years ago I pointed out the great importance of the Senousi sect in Africa ; and, unless the deceased founder of that name has now arisen, whether it is a man of that name or the now well-known sect that is mentioned, one cannot say from the telegram. The sender of the message states that as sure as the El Senousi rises to importance, there will be a danger to Egypt and to Islam: It is Christian-like to think well of Islam, and to try to protect it. This very few Christians do, and it shows a kind feeling towards a sister-faith, but I am not sure that the writer accurately knows what Islam is ; though there can be no doubt that the rise of fanatical sects, like the Senousi, which is largely due to the feeling of resistance created by the encroachments of so-called European civilisation, is opposed to orthodox Muhammadanism. Be that as it may, I also turned to-day to "the further correspondence on the affairs of Egypt" which a friend gave me, and really I now know rather less about Egypt than I did before. For instance, I find (and I am specially referring to the blue-book in my hand) that letters of the greatest importance from the Mahdi are treated in the following flippant manner : "This is nothing more or less than an unauthenticated copy of a letter sent by the deceased Mahdi to General Gordon" ! Is this not enough to deserve attentive inquiry ? General Gordon would, probably, not have agreed with the writer of this contemptuous remark, which is doubly out of place when we are also told that the Mahdi was sending Gordon

certain verses and passages from the Koran, illustrative of his position, which are eliminated by the translator as unnecessary, of no importance, and of very little interest ! Now, considering that this gentleman knows Arabic, I think I am right when I add that with a little more sympathy he would have known more ; and had he known more, he would have quoted those passages, for it is most necessary for us to know on what precise authority of the Koran or of tradition this so-called Mahdi bases his claim ; and knowledge of this kind would give us the opportunity of dealing with the matter. Again, on the question of Her Majesty's title of "Kaisar-i-Hind," which, after great difficulty, I succeeded in carrying into general adoption in India, the previous translators of "Empress" had suggested some title which would either have been unintelligible, or which would have given Her Majesty a disrespectful appellation, whilst none would have created that awe and respect which, I suppose, the translation of the Imperial title was intended to inspire. Even the subsequent official adopter of this title, Sir W. Muir, advocated it on grounds which would have rendered it inapplicable to India. With the National Anthem, similarly, we had a translation by a Persian into Hindustani which was supported by a number of Oriental scholars in this country, who either did not study it or who dealt with the matter entirely from a theoretical point of view ; and what was the result ? The result was—that for "God save the Queen" a passage was put which was either blasphemous, or which, in popular Muhammadan acceptance, might mean "God grant that Her Majesty may again marry !" whereas one of the glories of Her Majesty among her Hindu subjects is that she is a true "Satti" or Suttec, viz.: a righteous widow, who ever honours the memory of her terrestrial and spiritual husband—neither of these views being intended by the translator, or by that very large and responsible body of men who supported him, and that still larger and emphatically loyal body that intended to give the translation of the National Anthem as a gift to India at a

cost of several thousand pounds, when for a hundred rupees a dozen accurate and respectful versions were elicited by me in India itself.

I, therefore, submit that in speaking of the sciences of language and ethnography, we have, or ought to have, passed, long ago, the standpoint of treating them separately; they must be treated together, and, as I said at the beginning, taking, *e.g.*, Arabic, with its thirty-six broken plurals (quite enough to break anybody's memory), you will never be able to learn it unless you thoroughly realise the life of the Arab, as he gets out of his tent in the morning, milches his female camel, &c., and unless you follow him through his daily ride or occupations. Then you will understand how it is, especially if you have travelled in Arabia, that camels that appear at a distance on the horizon affect the eye differently from camels when they come near, and are seen as they follow one another in a row, and those again different from the camels as they gather round the tent or encampment; and therefore it is that in the different perceptions of the eye, under the influence of natural phenomena, these multifarious plurals are of the greatest importance in examining the customs of the people. Then will the discovery of the right plural be a matter of enjoyment, leading one on to another discovery, and to work all the better; whereas, with the grammatical routine that we still pursue, I wonder, when we reach to middle or old age, after following the literary profession, that we are not more dull or confused than we are at present. When one abstract idea follows the other, as in our phraseology, it is not like one scene following another in a new country, which is full of stimulus, but the course we adopt of abstract generalisations, without analysing them and bringing them back to their concrete constituents, is almost a process of stultification.

Coming now to one of the most primitive, and certainly one of the remnants of a pre-historic language, that of Hunza—which I had the opportunity of examining twenty-three years ago, while Gilgit was in a state of warfare, and

where I had to learn the language, so to speak, with a pencil in one hand and a weapon in the other, and surrounded by people who were waiting for an opportunity to kill me—I found that, on reverting to it three years ago, the language had already undergone a process of assimilation to the surrounding dialects, owing to the advance of so-called civilisation: which in that case, and which in the case of most of these tribes, means the introduction of drunkenness and disease, in this instance, of cholera; for we know what has been the condition of those countries which lie in the triangle between Cashmere, Kabul, and Badakhshan, and to which I first gave the name of Dardistan in 1866.

Now, what does this language show us? There the ordinary methods proved entirely at fault. If one pointed to an object, quite apart from the ordinary difficulties of misapprehension, the man appealed to, for instance, might say "your finger," if a finger were the thing of which he thought you wanted the name. If not satisfied with the name given in response, and you turned to somebody else, another name was obtained; and if you turned to a third person, you got a third name.

What was the reason for these differences? It was this, that the language had not emerged from the state in which it is impossible to have such a word as "head," as distinguished from "my head," or "thy head," or "his head"; for instance, *ak* is "my name," and *ik* is "his name." Take away the pronominal sign, and you are left with *k*, which means nothing. *aus* is "my wife," and *gus* "thy wife." The *s* alone has no meaning, and, in some cases, it seemed impossible to arrive at putting anything down correctly; but so it is in the initial stage of a language. In the Hunza language under discussion, that stage is important to us as members of the Aryan group, as the dissociation of the pronoun, verb, adverb and conjunction from the act or substance only occurs when the language emerges beyond the stage when the groping, as it were, of the human child between the *micum* and *tuum*, the first and second persons,

approaches the clear perception of the outer world, the "*suum*," the third person. Now, during the twenty years referred to "his" (house), "his" (name), and "his" (head) are beginning to take the place of "house," "name," "head," generally, in not quite a decided manner, but still they are taking their place. When I subsequently talked to the Hunzas, and tried to find a reason for that "idiom," if one may use the term, it seemed very clear and convincing when they said, "How is it possible for 'a wife' to exist unless she is somebody's wife? You cannot say, for instance, if you dissociate the one from the other, 'her wife,' or 'his husband.' 'Head,' by itself, does not exist; it must be somebody's head." When, again, you dissociate the sound which stands for the action or substance from the pronoun, you come, in a certain group of words, to another range of thought connected with the primary family relation, and showing the existence of that particularly ancient form of endogamy, in which all the elder females are the mothers and all the elder men are the fathers of the tribe. For instance take a word like "mother"; "m" would mean the female principle, "o" would be the self, and the *ther* would mean "the tribe"; in other words, "mother" would mean: "the female that bore me and that belongs to my tribe." Now, fanciful as this may appear to us, it is the simple fact as regards the Hunza language, which, when put to the test of analysis, will throw an incredible light on the history of Aryan words. For instance, taking Sanskrit as a typical language, you will, I believe, find how the early relations grew, and you will get beyond the root into the parts of which the root is made up; each of which has a meaning, not in one or two instances, but in most. I am not going to read you this volume which I am preparing for the Indian Government, and which is only the first part of the analysis with regard to this language, and only a very small portion indeed of the material that I collected in 1866, 1872, and 1884 regarding that important part of the world, Dardistan, which is now being drawn within the range of practical Indian politics—a

region situated between the Hindukush and Kaghan (lat. 37° N. and long. 73° E. to lat. 35° N. and long. $74^{\circ}3'$ E.), and comprising monarchies and republics, including a small republic of eleven houses—a region which contains the solution of numerous linguistic and ethnographical problems, the cradle of the Aryan race, inhabited by the most varied tribes, from which region I brought the first Hunza and the first Kafir that ever visited England, and of which region one of its bigger Chiefs, owing to my sympathy with the people, invested me with a kind of titular governorship. In that comparatively small area the questions that are to be solved are great, and it is even now in some parts, perhaps, as hazardous a journey as, say, through the Dark Continent. Whether you get to the ancient Robber's Seat of Hunza, where the right of plundering is hereditary, or into the recesses of Kafirstan or the fastnesses of Pakhtu settlers; whether you proceed to the republics of Darel, Tangir or Chilás, or proceed to the community where women are sometimes at the head of affairs, and which is neither worse nor better than others: an amount of information, especially ethnographic, is within one's reach, which makes Dardistan a region that would reward a number of explorers. I may say, in my own instance, if my life is spared for ten years longer, all I could do would be to bring out the mere material in my possession in a rough form, leaving the theories thereon to be elaborated by others. My difficulties were great, but my reward has been in a mass of material, for the elaboration of which International, Oriental, and other Congresses and learned societies have petitioned Government since 1866. My official duties have hitherto prevented my addressing myself to the congenial task of elaborating the material in conjunction with others. In 1886 I was, however, put for a few months on special duty in connection with the Hunza language, at the very time that Colonel Lockhart was traversing a portion of Dardistan. But I think you will be more interested if, beyond personal observations, I tell you something about that little country of Hunza itself, which in many respects differs from those sur-

rounding it, not only in regard to its peculiar language, which I have mentioned, but in other respects also. Unfortunately it is also unlike the surrounding districts in being characterised by customs, the absence of some of which would be desirable. The Hunzas are nominal Muhammedans, and they used their mosques for drinking and dancing assemblies. Women were as free as air. There was little restriction in the relation of the sexes, and the management of the State, in theory, is attributed to fairies. No war is undertaken unless the fairy (whom, by the way, one is not allowed to see) gives the command by beating the sacred drum. The witches, who get into an ecstatic state, are the journalists, historians, and prophetesses of the tribe. They tell you what goes on in the surrounding valleys. They represent, as it were, the local *Times*; they tell you the past glories, such as they are, of raids and murders by their tribe; and when the *Tham* or ruler, who is supposed to be heaven-born (there being some mystery about the origin of his dynasty), does wrong, the only one who will dare to tell him the truth is the Dayál, or the witch who prophesies the future, and takes the opportunity of telling the Rajah that, unless he behaves in a manner worthy of his origin, he will come to grief! This is not a common form of popular representation to be met with, say in India. Grimm's fairy-tales sometimes seem to be translated into practice in Hunza-land, which offers material for discussion alike to those who search for the Huns and to those who search for the very different Honas.

Then with regard to religion, as I said before, though nominally Muhammedan, they are really deniers of all the important precepts of true Muhammedanism, which is opposed to drunkenness, introduces a real brotherhood, and enjoins great cleanliness as absolutely necessary before the spiritual purification by prayer can take place. The people are mostly Muláís, but inferior in piety (?) to those of Zébak, Shignán, Wakhan, and other places. Now, what is that sect? It is represented by His Highness Prince Aga Khan, of Bombay, a person who is not half aware of his

importance in those regions, where, till very recently, men were murdered as soon as looked at. One who acknowledges him, or has brought some of the water with which he has washed his feet, would always be able to pass through those regions perfectly unharmed! I found my disguise as a Bokhara Mullah in 1866 to be quite useless, as a protection, at Gilgit, whence men were kidnapped to be exchanged for a good hunting dog, but in Hunza they used to fill prisoners with gunpowder, and blow them up for general amusement. His Highness, who is much given to horse-racing, confines his spiritual administration to the collection of taxes throughout Central Asia from his followers or believers, and the believers themselves represent what is still left of the doctrine of the Sheik-ul-Jabl, or the Ancient of the Mountain, the head of the so-called Assassins, a connexion of the Mahdi, if he be the Mahdi, or the supposed Mahdi, in the Soudan. I consider he is not the Mahdi as foretold in Muhammedan tradition; but, be that as it may, the 7th Imám of the Shiah has given rise to the sects both of the Druses in the Lebanon and of the Hunzas on the Pamir. They are the existing Ismailians, who, centuries ago, under the influence of *Hashish*, the Indian hemp, committed crimes throughout Christendom, and were the terror of Knight-Templar, as "*Hashishin*," corrupted into "*Assassins*."

Now I have been fortunate enough, owing to my friendship with the head of their tribe, to obtain some portions of the *Kelám-i-pír* volume, which takes the place, really, of the *Korán*, and of which I have got a portion here. I thought it might not be unworthy of your society to bring this to your knowledge, as a very interesting remnant which throws, *inter alia*, considerable light, not only on their doctrine, but also on the Crusades. By a similar favour, I have had the opportunity of hearing the *Mitháq*, or covenant of the Druses; and that covenant of the Druses is a kind of prayer they offer up to God, not only in connexion with the *Old Man* of the Mountain, the head of the Assassins, who began about 1022, but also with those

mysterious rites which also take place in what I may call the Fairy-land of Hunza. I do not know whether you are already wearied, but, if not, I might, perhaps, read you out some portions. First, with regard to the covenants; or one of them, which the "U'qelá" or the "initiated" or "wise," as distinguished from the "Juhelá" or "ignorant" "laity," among the Druses, offer up every night. This was used by a so-called educated Druse, one who had been converted to Protestantism,—a very good thing; but as often happens, with that denationalisation which renders his conversion useless as a means for the promotion of any religion, as there are no indigenous elements for its growth. Such a convert is often unable to obtain a knowledge of the practices of his still unconverted countrymen, as nobody can be looked on with greater distrust than that native of a country who has unlearned to think in his own language, and who cannot acquire a foreign language with its associations, which are part of the history of that language; he does not become an Englishman with English association, but ceases to be a good native with his own indigenous associations. Therefore, in my humble opinion, of all the unfortunate specimens of mankind, the most degraded are those who, under the guise of being Europeanised, and, therefore, reformers, have themselves the greatest necessity for reform. Their mind has become completely unhinged, thereby showing us that if we Europeans wish to do good among Orientals, we can do so best by living good lives in the midst of professors of other religions, this being also in accordance with the 13th edict of Asoka.

This Druse covenant makes the mad Fatimite ruler of Egypt, Hakim, the "Lord of the Universe." As I said before, the present "Lord of the Universe" for the Hunzas is the lineal descendant of the 7th Imám, a resident of Bombay, one to whom the Muláís make pilgrimages, instead of going to Mecca or to Kerbetá. You may imagine that, even as regards the Druses, there must be something higher than *their* "Lord of the Universe";

but such as he is, it is with him that this covenant is made. Reverting to his living colleague, the Indian "Lord," it may be stated that there are men scattered throughout India of whose influence we have only the faintest conception. I pointed out in 1866 that if anyone wanted to follow successfully my footsteps in Dardistan he would have to get recommendations from His Highness Aga Khan of Bombay, and I am glad to say that Colonel Lockhart has taken advantage of that recommendation. The Druse "Lord of the Universe" is regarded as one with whom nothing can be compared. The Druses are to render him the most implicit obedience, and to carry out his behests at the loss of everything, good name, wealth, and life, with the view of obtaining the favour of one who may be taken to be God; but the sentence is so constructed as to make him, if not God, only second to God; in other words, only just a discrimination between God as the distant ruler of the Universe, and, perhaps, some lineal descendant of Hakim, or rather, Hakim himself as an ever-living being, as the ruler of *this* world. This and some other prayers, with some songs, one amongst which breathes the greatest hatred to Muhammadanism, and speaks of the destruction of Mecca as something to be looked forward to, seem to be deserving of study. There are also references in them to rites connected with Abraham. A full translation of these documents, compared with invocations in portions of the Koran, would, indeed, reward the attention of the student.

I will now again revert from the Druses of the Lebanon to the Muláís in the Himalayas. I obtained the poem in my hand from the head of that sect, and the wording is such that it denies whilst affirming the immortality and transmigration of souls. It says, "It is no use telling the ignorant multitude what your faith is." That is very much like what Lord Beaconsfield said—that all thinking men were of one religion, but they would not tell of what religion;—a wrong sentiment, but one that is embodied in the above poem:—"Tell them," continues the poem in effect, "if they want to

know, in an answer of wisdom to a question of folly: 'if your life has been bad you will descend into the stone, the vegetable, or the animal; if your life has been good you will return as a better man. The chain of life is undivided. The animal that is sacrificed proceeds to a higher life.' You cannot discriminate and yet deny individual life, and apportion that air, stone, or plant to the animal and to man, but you ought to be punished for saying this to others!" And on this principle, at any rate the Druses also act or acted, that that is no crime which is not found out; and a good many people, I am sorry to say, elsewhere think much the same: whereas in Hunza they have gone beyond that stage, and care extremely little about their crimes being found out. The Mithaq and other religious utterances of the Druses and the Kelám-i-Pir of the Hunzas, if published together, with certain new information which we have regarding the Crusade of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, would, I think, were time given and the matter elaborated, indeed deserve the attention of the readers of your "Transactions." It also seems strange that where such customs exist there should be a prize for virtue, but there is one in Hunza for wives who have remained faithful to their husbands, something like the French prize for *restiées*.

(Formerly Sutte was practised, but Sutte had rather the meaning of Sáthi or companion, as both husband and wife went to the funeral pyre.) Prizes are similarly given to wives who have not quarrelled for, say, a certain number of years with their husbands. The most curious custom which seems to permeate these countries is to foster relationship in nursing where a nurse and all her relations come not only within the prohibited degrees, which is against the spirit of Muhammadanism, but also create the only real bond of true attachment that I have seen in Dardistan, where other relatives seemed always engaged in murdering one another.

Nearly all the chiefs in Dardistan give their children to persons of low degree to nurse, and these and the children of the nurse become attached to them throughout life, and

are their only friends. But this foster-relationship is also taken in order to get rid of the consequences, say, of crime; for instance, in the case of adultery, or supposed adultery, the suspected person who declares that he enters into the relationship of son to the woman with whom he is suspected, after a certain penalty, is really accepted* in that position, and the trust is in no case betrayed. It is the only kind of forgiveness which is given in Dardistan generally to that sort of transgression; but further than that, drinking milk with some one, or appointing some one as foster-father, which is done by crossing two vases of milk creates the same relationship, except amongst the noble caste of Shins who were expelled by the Brahmins from India or Kashmir, and who hold the cow in abhorrence as one of their religious dogmas, whereas in other ways they are really Brahmins, among whom we find Hindooism peeping out through the thin crust of Muhammedanism.

The subject of caste, by the way, is also one which is generally misunderstood, and which, if developed on Christian lines, would give us the perfection of human society, and solve many of the problems with which we are dealing in Europe in more advanced civilisations. I have read to-day with concern some remarks against caste by Sir John Petheram, who has been in India some three or four years. I think that before people speak on subjects of such intricacy, they should take the position of students of the question, learn at least one of the classical and one of the vernacular languages of India and then alone assume the rôle of teachers whilst continuing to be learners; even in regard to such subjects as infant-marriage and the prohibition of widow-re-marriage, there is a side of the question which has not yet been put sufficiently before the British public. Infant marriage, when properly carried out in the higher castes, is an adoption of the girl into the family where she and the husband grow up together and join in prayer in common which is necessary for their respective salvation; there is much to learn in the way of tenderness, charity,

and love from some of the households in India, where we find a community constituted on the noblest principles of "the joint family," with an admirable and economical subdivision of labour, which enables them to live at a mere trifle, and yet so to prepare their food that in every dish you can see the tender care of the woman who prepares it for the good of the husband and of the household.

Then as to widow-re-marriage, it has not been sufficiently pointed out to the British public that spiritual marriage renders the re-marriage of the Hindu widow impossible, because she is necessary for the spiritual salvation of the husband, and because as the representative of his property she may be called upon to be the head of the family, for many of them *are* at the head of the family, and their position, therefore, renders it simply impossible for them to re-marry. These are matters that we should treat with respect, especially if we seek to adapt them to the spirit of the age.

There are also differences amongst Muhammedans as great as there are between a good Christian who tries to follow the Sermon on the Mount and a merely nominal Christian. Science and religion, according to a Muhammadan saying, are twins, and if I understand the object of this Society, it is in order to make this twinship (if I may be allowed to use the expression) more real than your labours have been initiated, and that, under Providence, they have been carried to the successful results that have followed them both here and abroad.

EDUCATION IN INDIA.

THE development of mental and moral faculties, which has such a material bearing upon the formation of character, and conduces so much to the greatness of a nation, depends upon education, which in its wider sense embraces (1) reading, (2) observation, and (3) thought. It is impossible to lay down any hard and fast rules on the subject, which must be discussed from different points of view. The standard of education of a particular country or race should be regulated and controlled by its special conditions and necessities. This being the case, it is unnecessary to formulate a general scheme of education, and I may without preamble proceed to consider it in India. The famous despatch of 1854 upon which the educational policy of the Government in that country is based, may be looked upon as the educational era of the vast Indian peninsula. The soundness and general application of the scheme formulated there cannot be denied—it stood the test of the careful and sifting examination of the Education Commission that assembled in India some years ago—in fact, the report of that body did not go beyond mere expansion of the principles of education embodied in the famous dispatch.

The subject of education in India resolves itself into (1) university education, (2) secondary education, and (3) primary education. Before considering these it is necessary to discuss some issues which relate to the theoretic part of education. And the question that presents itself first for determination is, what is the duty of Government and the people towards it? We all know that hitherto education has been almost under the control of the Government, who have provided the people with educational institutions and the

funds necessary to maintain them. About thirty years ago, when the country was in a backward state, the control of education by the State was not only expedient, but also necessary. However, during the period that has passed between the year 1854—which may be taken as a starting point—and the present year, such changes have taken place, and the educational prospects of the country have improved so much, that it is high time to consider whether we should still depend upon Government for education.

I believe it would be in the interest of the Government and the people alike if the higher education were managed by the latter, and the former were left unhampered to deal with primary education.

The reason of this is patent to all ; education is more our concern than that of the Government : we understand our necessities better than our rulers can, and hence, if we control education—of course under European guidance—it will turn greatly to our advantage. However, I wish to be understood explicitly when I propose this, that I am not opposed to the higher education ; on the contrary, I think that the future greatness of India will depend on its extension and development. Though, at the same time, it must be observed that in our zeal for culture we should not ignore primary education, and herein are involved the duties of the Government. The Government of India, or any other modern Government, exists more or less for the people ; and hence it is necessary that we should first provide for their education, try to bring them up to the level of the civilised peoples of the world, and ameliorate their condition as much as possible. The advantages of primary education in a country like India, where the majority of the people are still illiterate, cannot be denied. Its general extension will materially facilitate the communication of thought and ideas to the masses, and thereby establish a touch between them and the educated leaders. And if this is done the question of the representation of the people may eventually come within the range of practical politics.

Endeavours have been made to do this, and when we judge of the results by considering the high efficiency which the managing committee of the Agra College, which was lately transferred to the control of the people of that town, have shown in the management of high education, I am convinced that the principle involved therein should be extended generally. The Government have done their best to promote primary education; but still there is much room for improvement, as it has not become so widely extensive as it ought to be; nor is the system of education imparted, as I shall have occasion to show later on, free from grave defects.

The great bodies that control high education in India are the universities of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, the Punjab, and the North Western Provinces. Of these the Punjab and the North Western Provinces Universities are but of recent growth. It cannot be denied for a moment that the older universities have done their duties well, and the great progress that high education has made is due to them. Therefore if we judge of them by general results, they deserve great credit for the efficient way in which they have conduced to the material growth of intellect and the development of mental and moral qualities. However there is the technical standard by which all educational institutions must be judged, and when we confine our examination to this test, I am forced to conclude that our universities are not free from defects. They are more or less examining rather than teaching bodies, and this being the case their tendency is to encourage "cram." Their graduates and undergraduates, instead of receiving a sound education which may invigorate the understanding, are only enabled to acquire a shallow knowledge of different subjects. In fact, to examine is looked upon as the chief object of these universities. Herein lies the great difference between the English universities, such as Oxford and Cambridge, and the Indian universities. All the efforts of the former are directed to educate their alumni as soundly as possible, and this is done by bringing the pupils under the personal

influence of professors and of the university generally. No doubt the English universities have a great advantage over the Indian, inasmuch as all the colleges under them are grouped together and form one institution, so to speak. In India, on the other hand, the colleges lie apart, and have therefore to work independently of each other. There is no touch amongst them, and hence no uniform system of education under the immediate control of the universities. Of course it is impossible to group all the colleges together, and hence the best way to remedy this defect will be to strengthen as much as possible the staff of professors, and to select men for educational work who are not only brilliant graduates but also good teachers and sound scholars.

Another defect of an Indian university education is that while it does its best to impart classical and English education, and has also lately begun to teach science and mathematics greatly, it ignores technical education. There do exist some such colleges as the Sivapore Engineering College and the Roorki College, &c., but when we take into consideration the population and area of India we are forced to conclude that hitherto very little has been done in this direction. Lord Reay has taken the initiative in the matter; and it is hoped that he will be helped by all in his enterprise.

Technical education of course, in a country like India, must be regulated by its demand; but under changed circumstances something more should be done. At least one or two technical colleges should be established in each province of India, and if this is done there will be ample opportunities to revive Indian art and the mechanical industry. While on the subject of high education, I must not forget to notice the attempt that was once made in India to impart instruction in science through the medium of the vernaculars, nor the great mistake of the Punjab University to orientalise it altogether. It is satisfactory that both these theories have become exploded ones. Regarding the former, it may be said first, that science as it is understood in the

civilised countries of Europe cannot be properly interpreted in the vernaculars, as there are many new ideas and thoughts which have no equivalents in them. Secondly, when we study science in English we not only learn it, but also the language which is so very indispensable for an Indian. As to the attempt to orientalise an university, it may be said that we do not look to the universities for Oriental studies, which we can acquire more efficiently at our private institutions, but for Western sciences and art. The University of the Punjab, which attempted to do this, has not yet recovered from its evil consequences, and we ought to congratulate ourselves that the lately established University of the North Western Provinces sailed clear of this rock. In fact, when we look into the constitution of the New University, we are convinced that it has a great future before it, inasmuch as it is based on the pattern of Oxford University. It was fortunate that the inception of the scheme had the guidance of such a ripe and distinguished scholar as Sir Alfred Lyall, helped by such an able and experienced civilian Director of Public Instruction as Mr. E. White, and the execution, while still retaining the latter, was no less fortunate in getting Sir Auckland Colvin as the successor of Sir Alfred. If the University achieve high results and accomplish the mission for which it has been established, it will be no wonder, for it is being controlled by some practical minds of the highest order.

The secondary education is the stepping-stone to high education, and, as such, deserves careful treatment. It may be remarked generally that its object in India is the same on a small scale as that of high education, viz., to train the faculties in a classical way. It does not profess to teach in accordance with the necessities of the Indian communities; while here education varies according to the requirements of the different classes, it is held, in India, that what suits one class must suit another. In this country, a lad destined for mercantile profession goes to a school kept for that purpose, learns book-keeping and so forth, and is enabled thereby to

begin life efficiently as a clerk in some mercantile house ; similarly, a youth destined for the home civil service gets education for that purpose, and so forth. This is not the case in India. Now there has been such a marvellous development of trade, commerce, industries and so forth in India, that one destined for a particular profession requires a peculiar training. Hence, under the altered circumstances of the country, secondary education should not only be looked upon as the part of university education, but should also provide particular training to youths who do not wish to pursue university education, but desire to follow some profession at an early age. The first necessity, therefore, seems to be to divide our schools into (1) schools professing to teach for university education, (2) schools for professions. What proportion these should bear to each other is a question of necessity and detail, and hence need not be touched upon.

The primary education also labours under the same disadvantage. First, at these schools useful subjects are not taught. Of course, it is quite necessary that the three R's should be taught ; but at the same time, it is imperative that in selecting subjects, regard be had to such of them as are useful and likely to lead to practical results. For instance, what good in the world could the teaching of verses do to a very young mind ? This is the reason why our primary schools in villages are not well attended. India is an agricultural country ; and hence, if in rural schools elements of agriculture, surveying, reading the rent and revenue papers are taught, an agriculturist would naturally send his son to such a school ; but if they only indulge in the flights of imagination and the art of rhetoric, no power on earth can make such institutions attractive. There are many schools which are under the control of private bodies ; and if the system of grant-in-aid were regulated by the teaching of useful subjects, and not by the results of examination, I am sure primary education would flourish ; and in no time, hundreds and thousands of men who are unwilling to give their sons any

sort of education would willingly do so. And the result of this will be that instead of empty we shall have full schools, and the whole country in a short time will be educated. The most practical way, therefore, to enhance the value of the secondary and primary education, so to speak, and make them as extensive as possible would be to teach *useful* instead of classical subjects, which are likely to enable the children of the members of different professions to earn their livelihood, and to increase the number of primary schools.

Connected with the subject of education is moral and physical training. It is to be regretted that the moral education of our Indian youths has received but little attention hitherto. It was only a short time ago that the foresight of an eminent statesman like Lord Dufferin brought the subject into prominence by passing a resolution in the Home Department. The advantages of moral and physical training cannot be denied for a moment. It is the development of moral faculties that reminds us that we are responsible beings, and have certain duties towards God and man—in fact it brings home the conviction that human life is serious. However, in a country like India, where we have different religions and sects, it is impossible to have one religious code for all. The best plan, therefore, to meet the question will be to teach such works which, though not religious, have still moral tendencies, such as Addison's *Spectator*, and so forth. The question of physical training is simpler—its importance is well attested by the manliness of the English race. An English youth owes his courage, muscular development, and hardy habits to his school and college physical training. Cricket, football, tennis, and some exercises on the horizontal and parallel bar ought to be introduced generally into the Indian colleges and schools. It is certain rural boys will take to football readily.

To ameliorate the condition of woman it is necessary to encourage female education. There has been some progress

in this direction, and it may be said that a beginning has been made. The number of girls' schools, however, is yet small, and very unproportionately distributed over the land. The education, too, is confined to the girls of the lower classes, though this is not the case in Bengal. Purdah system (remaining behind the curtain) prevails amongst the higher classes, and I am convinced that, unless we socially reform ourselves, female education will not thrive. Again, the spirit with which the question is approached is another drawback to its success. Female education under the Zenana Mission is looked at askance, and, unless the Government undertake to manage it, we cannot expect any high results.

To sum up, then. High education, as imparted at our Indian universities, requires to be remodelled. Instead of aiming to be examining institutes they ought to aspire to impart sound education, and this result could be achieved by making them more of teaching than examining bodies. Secondary education in India is only looked upon as a branch of university training, and hence, unless we have some schools where students can finish their professional studies, and be enabled thereby to enter life, such education can neither be useful, nor find favour with the people. Primary education is not regulated by the necessities of the members of the different Indian communities, and is hence unpopular. Little or nothing has been done yet for either technical education or mental and physical training, though there are indications that before long they will receive proper consideration ; the question of female education still remains in the background, and must do so unless social reforms take place.

To effect a salutary reform and place the system of education upon a broader and firmer basis, voluntary effort on the part of the people is necessary ; unless they gradually undertake to manage their education high results cannot be achieved. Our aim, therefore, as all our future greatness must depend upon the efficiency of our educational institutions,

should be to evolve a system of education under a patronising and willing government, as the British *régime* in India, suited to the growing necessities of the people, and controlled by the changed circumstances of the country.

UMA SANKAR MISRA.

“DO UT DES.”

THE celebrated aphorism of Prince Bismarck is one of universal application, and nowhere is it more fitly applied than in the affairs of nations. Nevertheless it is just in national policy that either apathy, pride, or sentiment prevents a judicious adoption of the principle. Great Britain especially is the country which might largely benefit by its exercise, and in these pages we propose to show how by recognising the principle, and applying it with foresight, common sense, and a due regard to the interests of all concerned, it may be made an instrument for consolidating our Colonial Empire.

Great Britain, during its long course of colonial expansion, has acquired many possessions which either are, from one cause or another, of little value to her, or else are a standing cause of jealous irritation, or at all events of envy to others. In the one class we may place such colonies as the Bahamas and the Gold Coast. In the other possessions such as Gibraltar and the Mauritius. Now wherever such colonies or possessions can be exchanged for others of equal or greater prospective value to ourselves, without a needless sacrifice of national sentiment or imperial interests, a policy of barter is to be commended. Gibraltar is precisely an instance where pride in a great achievement would forbid us attempting to soothe the wounded vanity of Spain, while the strategical value of Mauritius is one that we could not ignore even for the sake of gratifying France, but these are examples of “how not to do it.” Dominica on the other hand is a case of a possession which is of little practical value to us, but which must, both from its situation and history, always be regarded with envious eyes by every Frenchman who sails the Caribbean seas.

In the same way there is scarcely a maritime nation on the face of the globe which does not own possessions which are more or less necessary to our own expansion, or which create causes of disagreement that it would be better for all parties to avoid. Such for instance are New Caledonia, Alaska, and Delagoa Bay. If, therefore, by amicable arrangement, and by a judicious system of exchange, we can remove standing grievances, we shall not only contribute to the peace of the world, but we may make the action a source of mutual benefit. It will perhaps be said that this traffic in land, this barter of population, is inconsistent with the dignity of a great and civilised nation, but it is the policy which guided our forefathers not in the barbarous days of the Plantagenets or Tudors, but at the period when England was the acknowledged mistress of the seas, and practically the head of the European system. The Peaces of Utrecht and Versailles, the Treaties of Amiens and Paris, and the Congress of Vienna abound in illustrations of this very principle of barter, and yet no one has ever asserted that either the influence or the dignity of Great Britain was lowered by these transactions. Moreover if we are in a position to profit by our extraordinary command of landed capital, it would be mere sentimental folly not to do so. We are called a nation of shopkeepers, so why not turn our commercial instincts to account? A capitalist uses his capital with a view to future profit. He parts with stocks and shares so that he may buy others of lower present value, but of greater prospective worth. The shares he sells, being safe ones, are in much demand by a certain class of small investors; those he buys are such as only a capitalist can afford to hold. In the same way Great Britain has much she can relinquish without feeling the loss, possessions which, from their position, or owing to their developed resources, have a real value to others, who can give us in exchange territories which, from their situation or nature, would be potentially more valuable to us than to them.

The first great principle to observe in effecting exchanges of territory is that they are made with a view to removing present or future causes of disagreement. The second is that race rights and prejudices are not violated. We mean by this that an essentially *British* colony should not be handed over to the unsympathetic authority of France or Portugal. Finally, every exchange should be made with a distinct aim, not merely to satisfy our rivals, but with a view to consolidating our colonial empire or ensuring its future development.

The first country we propose to deal with is America. A war with the United States is the very last in which Englishmen would wish to engage. Such a war would be fratricidal: a veritable civil war which both sections of our race could only contemplate with dismay. To avert all causes of such a war should be the aim of our statesmen; and it is in the highest degree desirable now to consider what are such possible causes, and how they may be removed with mutual advantage to both.

One constant source of irritation is the question of fishery rights in the Behring seas. These rights would never have arisen had it not been for the acquisition of Alaska by the United States. Alaska is of no value to the States except as a base for the fishing industry; and its situation at the extreme corner of a great British dominion is one that cannot but be regarded as inconvenient to both parties. Alaska should be British, and, if it were so, we could bury the ugly hatchet which the Behring fisheries have fashioned. But what could we offer for Alaska? The answer to this might be, British Honduras. This colony has an area of nearly 8,000 square miles, and a population of about 28,000, while its trade is valued at over half-a-million sterling. Its potential value is doubtless great, as, apart from its vast wealth of forest land, there are in the interior magnificent pasturages, and indications of great mineral resources. Intrinsically, therefore, it would be no mean exchange for the vast Arctic solitudes of Alaska. But it possesses for America

a still higher value—namely, its position. Sooner or later a Panama or Nicaragua canal will surely be constructed ; and, when that day comes, the States will require a point of observation within easy reach of the canal. Such a point is afforded by Belize, the capital of British Honduras, and, therefore, strategically British Honduras would be of great value to the Americans. For us it has no such value, as Jamaica is equally near to Panama, and would in war serve all our requirements. As regards the inhabitants of the colony, it is probable that they would on the whole gain by their connection with the United States, as even now their trade is chiefly with the States. Finally, sooner or later, Mexico and the Central American States are bound to be engulfed in the Great Republic, and, when that day comes, Uncle Sam will begin to cast longing glances at the red patch staining the margin of his latest acquisitions. The exchange of British Honduras for Alaska would, therefore, have a double advantage : it would avert a future source of trouble as well as remove a present cause.

Let us now turn to France. With our Gallic neighbours we have so many points of contact that we can hardly hope ever to remove all possible causes of friction. There will always be some Egyptian or Syrian question to keep alive an ancient rivalry ; but there are certain irritating questions which might for ever be laid to rest. Of these the most prominent are the question of the Newfoundland fisheries and that of the *récidivistes* in New Caledonia and the adjoining islands. As regards the first question, ever since the Peace of Utrecht certain fishery rights then conceded to France have been a constant grievance to the colonists. The French claim the exclusive right to fish along certain portions of the coast from Bona Vista to Cape Ray ; and this claim has always been resented by the colonists—so much so, that armed collisions have frequently occurred. These fisheries employ over 10,000 Breton Frenchmen annually, so that naturally great store is laid by France on the exercise of her treaty rights. The base of the French fish-

ing fleets are the two small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, which together contain a population of about 5,000. Now, these islands are in themselves of little value; but their retention by France, and the aforesaid fishing rights, are aggravating in the extreme to the Newfoundlanders; and there can be little doubt that, had Newfoundland belonged to the States, or even had it joined the Canadian confederation, the French long ago would have received notice to quit. As it is, the present tension cannot continue indefinitely and the French had better make the best bargain they can while the door is still open to them. But what can we give them in exchange?

Nearly 400 years ago, on a bright Sunday afternoon, Christopher Columbus sighted an island in the Caribbean Sea, which, in honour of the Sabbath, he named Dominica. During the last century many French settlers were attracted to it by its fertility. In 1771 it was conquered and occupied by the French. Between then and the general peace the island frequently changed hands, finally resting in ours. Situated as it is, between the two flourishing French islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe, every Frenchman, who knows his history and geography, naturally regards it as one of those fair spots on God's earth which belong, by right divine, to his country. It is healthy, has a population of nearly 30,000, and is bigger than the Isle of Wight, nevertheless it is of very little use to us. If by ceding it to France we can get rid of French rights in Newfoundland, and add St. Pierre and Miquelon to the British dominions, we shall have healed an open sore and earned the gratitude of Newfoundland, the oldest of English colonies, one haunted by memories of John Cabot and Walter Raleigh. It may be mentioned that St. Pierre is connected with France direct by cable, and, therefore, one of our first actions in war would be by seizing it to deprive France of telegraphic communication with America. It is, therefore, only valuable to France in peace, and French interests in this respect may easily be safeguarded.

As regards the Australians, France has succeeded in

establishing a law for which, when the colonists are strong enough, she will be called to account. New Caledonia and the Loyalty islands come, the Australians think, within the natural sphere of their influence; and, as France has chosen to make the main island a convict settlement, a day will surely come when the Australians will assert a Monroe doctrine of their own, and then these islands, with the New Hebrides, will pass into Anglo-Saxon hands. England has no wish to fight France on such a question; the idea of war on account of remote and comparatively insignificant islands would be intolerable to the British democracy, but our hands will be forced by the ever-growing volume of Australian sentiment. To obviate future difficulties would it not be better for all concerned if we now made our terms in an amicable and considerate spirit? We can give France a *quid pro quo*, for in the Gambia we possess a region which, though of little moment to us, would be of incalculable value to France.

Gambia, though it has been in our possession over 200 years, cannot be said to have flourished. Its trade is mostly with France and Senegal, and it contains, besides its negro population, only a few dozen Europeans. But, though it has been of such little use to us, France would be only too glad to acquire it, as it is the one great obstacle to that dream of French statesmen—a great French dominion in Senegambia. To the north of Gambia lies the French colony of Senegal, with its capital at Fort St. Louis. Of late Senegal has made great strides in commercial prosperity, but its progress is much hindered by the fact that the Senegal river is unnavigable for big ships. Moreover French expansion southward is limited by the British possessions on the Gambia. Now, the Gambia is a magnificent river navigable by the smaller ocean steamers for nearly 150 miles, and in French hands it would afford an easy road to the Joliba and the upper waters of the Niger. The potential value of Gambia to France is great, while our own expansion in those regions is hopeless, considering the position France has already acquired in the interior. Under these circum-

stances the best thing we can do is to offer it to France in exchange for the few miserable islands she occupies between Australia and the Fijis. Those islands can never offer her a fair field for commercial enterprise, while the possession of the whole of Senegambia will enable her to exploit a vast area of rich, tropical country, which may some day possibly be united with Algeria. Such an exchange will remove a present, as well as a possible future, cause of difference. The *récidiviste* question will be thrust into limbo, and the Gambia question of the future will then never arise.

The country which perhaps demands our most immediate attention is Portugal, for it is with Portugal that we have perhaps the most pressing claims to settle. Delagoa Bay, the Transvaal railway, the navigation of the Zambesi, the slave trade of the Mozambique, are all questions that do not admit of delay, or which delay will only render the more difficult to solve. A great world power cannot go to war with a weak state like Portugal, and yet it cannot imperil its own interests out of a chivalrous deference to weakness. The arbitrament of a third party has never in our case proved satisfactory, and the only course left to us is to adopt the principle of *do ut des*. There is only one way of settling the questions enumerated above,—it is to get the Portuguese out of East Africa, and this can only be done by making it worth their while to go. The Mozambique territory, although it extends over nearly 1,400 miles of coast-line, is almost worthless to the Portuguese. Their authority hardly extends beyond the *rayon* of their few forts and factories. Plantations scarcely exist, while trade is conspicuous only by its absence. Troubles are constantly arising, and it was only a year or two ago that the Portuguese had to denude Goa of its garrison, in order to protect their subjects in the Mozambique from wholesale massacre. In short the Mozambique is a white elephant to her present possessors. Now Portugal doubtless has her price, for she cannot but perceive that, hemmed in as she is by the Germans on the north and the English to the south and

west, her power of expansion is limited, and her prospects of a flourishing commerce in these regions circumscribed by the greater energy and enterprise of her new rivals. The question then is, what is her price, and can we pay it?

It seems to me that again we are exactly in a position to come to terms. The huge wholesale establishment called Great Britain has precisely the article which Portugal might be disposed to take. She has settled and peaceful territories to traffic in, territories she can give away without a pang. Such are the Gold Coast and Lagos. The Gold Coast has an area of over 29,000 square miles, and extends along 350 miles of coast. The population is estimated at nearly a million and a half. The external trade of the colony is valued at over £700,000 per annum. Lagos is a strip of coast line extending for about 150 miles; it is said to contain about 100,000 inhabitants, and has the advantage of possessing a good harbour and excellent water communication with the interior, with the result that a very lucrative trade has arisen, amounting annually to over a million sterling. Now though the area of the two colonies, compared with the nominal extent of the Portuguese territories in Mozambique, is infinitesimal, yet it compares favourably with the area actually controlled by Portugal, while as regards trade and population the British colonies have a decided advantage. But the great advantage which would accrue to Portugal from the exchange, is that she would acquire a settled territory within easy reach of Lisbon, in place of a distant region where she can with difficulty maintain herself. Moreover, this acquisition would concentrate all her efforts on West Africa, where she already has extensive possessions in Mossamedes, Benguela, Loanda, Cargo, and Bissao, as well as numerous islands. If ever Portugal is to regain her former reputation as a great colonial power, it will surely be in West Africa. Finally, Portugal has a sentimental interest in the Gold Coast, for Portugal was the first

European country which established factories on that coast.

The next country which claims our early attention is Germany. It is only of late years that the German Empire has embarked on a course of colonial adventure, so it is only now that conflicting interests are arising between England and Germany. Neither nation can afford to risk the amity which has existed for centuries, and the common interests of the two great branches of the Teutonic stock demand that nothing should be allowed to intervene which might destroy the ancient tacit alliance. The policy of both should be to avoid all causes of disagreement as far as possible, and where such causes exist to establish a *modus vivendi* which shall be mutually acceptable.

There are two points where a dangerous divergence of interests may arise; or perhaps it would be more correct to say three: namely, German New Guinea, East Africa, and Walfich Bay. As regards New Guinea, neither England nor Germany has as yet any important establishments in the island, while scarcely any trade has yet arisen within their respective spheres of influence, so, as far as existing interests are concerned, either might abandon the island to-morrow without the slightest compunction, but the contiguity of Australia, and the susceptibilities of the colonists, compel us to stop where we are and face all responsibilities and risks; and though there is now room for both England and Germany, the partition of an island between two great commercial nations is a dangerous thing, and may create a troublesome factor in the future. It would therefore be better for both to come to some amicable arrangement without loss of time. If Germany were prepared to cede to us her share of the island we on our side might surrender our position in Walfich Bay.

Walfich Bay without Damara and Namaqualand is a useless possession to us, while, at the same time, Damara and Namaqua are of very little use to Germany without the port which Walfich Bay affords. It is a dog-in-the-manger

policy for us to retain Walfich Bay, and as it is so important a factor in the development of the German territory, we may just as well cede it in exchange for New Guinea. Both sides will gain, and two possible germs of future disagreement will be removed. Germany loses a luxuriant tropical region, but she gains full power over a territory which has boundless potential capacities, one where the wonders of Kimberly, Ookiep, and the Transvaal gold-fields may be repeated.

There still remains East Africa to deal with. "Five years ago Germany did not possess a single interest in any part of East Africa—England was supreme. For twenty years England had worked for and helped onward the growing trade and civilisation of Zanzibar. . . . Travel in the interior became comparatively easy and free from danger. . . . The coast towns on the mainland shared in the general prosperity, and British Indians flocked to them opening stores and trading stations everywhere. . . . Pangani from a large village of thatched huts, with little or no trade, became in ten years an important commercial centre of stone houses built by the British Indians. . . . British missions began to increase everywhere in the interior." In Usambara, on the Rovuma, on Lake Nyassa, at Mombassa—in short at twenty places between the great lakes and the ocean, flourishing mission stations were established. "Thus the whole of East Africa became a network of British mission stations, and the coast was one line of British-Indian trading stations. There were neither German missions nor German traders in any part of the country, not one. . . . Trade and commerce (at Zanzibar) rapidly increased to two millions per annum, the greater part of this being in the hands of British subjects. . . . In the Usambara country alone Englishmen have invested more than £50,000 or one million of marks more than the capital of the whole German East African Company. . . . The chiefs and people are devoted to the English; many are Christians. . . . The whole trade of the coast is in the hands of some ten thou-

sand British subjects from India. . . The British Indians have half a million sterling of floating capital employed at this time in the ivory trade in the far interior."

The above extracts taken from an article by the Archdeacon of Usambara* show how very real British interests in East Africa were and are. Unfortunately, since 1884, the position has been very much changed. Germany by dint of cajolery and threats has acquired certain shadowy claims over the coast-land from the Rovuma to the Umba, where the territories of the British East African Company commence, and again northwards from Formosa bay, Vitu being their principal, if not their only, position on this part of the coast. These claims in 1886 were recognised by England, and if compacts between two nations-regarding other people's property have any force, Germany has an established right to what she has filched from the Sultan of Zanzibar and the chiefs on the mainland. Treaty rights do not however always convey possession; and as a matter of fact, Germany's East African empire is confined to a few positions she holds by force, and to the shoreline which the guns of her ships can command. The position is most unsatisfactory for all parties. Where civilisation and order were rapidly spreading, anarchy and bloodshed are now rampant, the routes to the interior are closed, the mission stations are deserted or in sore straits, the British Indian merchants are ruined. The outlook is a hopeless one for Germany, and if she could retire with honour, doubtless she would be glad to do so, at least from that portion of the coast which lies north of the British concession, for in Vitu apparently things are going fairly well. Now it is precisely the southern protectorate in which we are interested, and it might be worth our while to come to terms with Germany on the principle of *do ut des*. It is a most unhealthy tract of country, but still our influence there is great, our mission stations numerous, and from it lead the main routes to the Nyassa and Tanganyika

* See the *Fortnightly Review* for Feb., 1889

lakes. What would it profit Germany to take in exchange? There are two British positions which Germany probably covets, and which might suit her. The first is Heligoland; the second some island in the Antilles, which might serve her as a coasting station on the Panama route. As regards the first, it is not of very great intrinsic value to either England or Germany, but the latter country would have a sentimental interest in obtaining it, and would at least gratify the patriotism of 14,000 Germans who go there annually to bathe. Moreover in a war with France its possession would give the Germans an invaluable watchtower, connected by telegraph with the mainland, from which warning could be conveyed of the approach of the enemy's fleet towards either the Elbe, Jahde, or the Weser.

As regards a coaling station in the Antilles, a position in the Leeward Islands would probably suit Germany best, as it lies on the direct route to Panama, and we could afford to give her whichever best suited her, excepting Dominica, on which France would have the first claims, and Antigua, where we have considerable vested interests, and a comparatively large British population. Moreover it is the capital of the Leeward Islands. Probably it would suit us best to give up either Barbuda, Anguilla, Nevis, or the Virgin Islands, as these colonies have the smallest English communities.

The only other country with which business in land might now be done is Holland. We have no immediate difference with Holland, and any little disputes we may chance to have with that country we always settle most amicably. But we happen to share in common with her two great islands of Malaysia, namely, Borneo and New Guinea; and this joint occupation or protectorate may some day become a cause of considerable inconvenience and friction. It would, therefore, be better for us now to acquire all Dutch rights in these two islands. But the potential value of these islands is great. They are quite undeveloped, and they are known to be rich in every kind of tropical product. The price there-

fore we should have to pay would also be great, and even wealthy John Bull might perhaps wince at the mention of Demerara.

Demerara, or British Guiana, is the one British possession the Dutch really covet. It was settled by the Dutch 300 years ago, and was practically a Dutch colony till 1803. Even to this day its political, judicial, and fiscal systems are based on Dutch lines. The colony is contiguous to Dutch Guiana, a possession whose commercial prosperity has been killed by the superior advantages of Demerara. United these two colonies would form a magnificent outlet for Dutch energy. Apart from its wealth of timber and its flourishing plantations, the undeveloped mineral resources of the country offer prospects of a splendid future. Even now the trade of British Guiana exceeds three and a-half millions sterling per annum. No doubt Dutch Borneo and Western New Guinea would be a poor exchange for so fine a colony; but we have to look to the future, to avoid quarrels with our natural allies, to propitiate the growing impatience of the Australians, and to consolidate our empire. With these great aims in view it would seem worth while making present sacrifices.

Now let us review the net results of our supposed exchanges. We shall have lost :—

- Heligoland.
- British Honduras.
- Dominica.
- One of the Leeward Islands.
- British Guiana.
- Gambia.
- Gold Coast.
- Lagos.
- Walfish Bay.

On the other hand we shall have gained :—

- Alaska.
- St. Pierre and Miquelon.
- New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands.
- New Guinea.
- Borneo.
- East Africa, from Delagoa Bay to Pangani.

Besides this, a dozen burning questions will have been laid to rest for the mutual advantage of the nations concerned. We shall hear no more about the Behring fisheries or the French shore, nor about the *récidivistes* or New Guinea. The Delagoa Bay, Zambesi, and Zanzibar questions will only have an historical interest for us; Heligoland will cease to disturb the minds of German patriots; Walfich Bay and Angra Pequena will pass into oblivion; the Gambia and Borneo questions of the future will be nipped in the bud.

In actual present money value we shall doubtless be considerable losers. British Guiana and Lagos at the present time are probably worth all our proposed acquisitions put together; but, as we have already said, we are in the position of the capitalist who invests his surplus money with a view to prospective gain, or of the county magnate who exchanges outlying farms with a view to rounding off his estate.

We shall have lost not one single position of strategical value to ourselves, and we shall have gained a firm foothold and free scope for the creation of future colonial greatness in at least three fields—namely, East Africa, Borneo, and New Guinea. Finally, we shall have gone a long way towards consolidating the Empire, and, most important of all, we shall have shown Canadians and Australians the advantage of their political connection with the Mother Country.

Let us examine the situation from another point of view, and see how our position in each continent is affected by the modifications proposed.

In America we shall have added to the Dominion the only territories that Canadian irredentists can possibly hanker for. From Behring Straits to Cape Race there will be no flag but the British. We shall have one solid, compact empire, which, *pace* Professor Goldwin Smith, will work out its destiny regardless of American spread-eagleism, and in amicable commercial rivalry with both the States and Great

Britain. On the other hand we shall have lost British Honduras, Demerara, Dominica, and some other of the Leeward islands.

In Africa we shall have lost several scattered colonies on the West Coast, namely: Gambia, the Gold Coast, Lagos, and Walfich Bay; but we shall still retain the strategical positions of Sierra Leone, St. Helena, and Ascension, while the Niger Company will be left undisturbed in the exercise of its great commercial programme.

In East Africa we shall have acquired an immense territory stretching from Mount Kilimandjaro to Delagoa Bay and from the Great Lakes to the Indian Ocean, a region which has been discovered for us by a band of intrepid British explorers, and where the trader, the missionary, and the explorer have already made the name of Englishmen respected. Such an acquisition in English hands would not only be of enormous potential value to us, but would be a far-reaching factor in the civilisation of the dark continent, and in its redemption from the great curse of slavery.

In Australasia and Malaysia we shall have lost nothing, but shall have gained complete authority over Borneo, New Guinea, and the French Islands in the Western Pacific. Australian jealousy will be satisfied.

In Asia we shall neither gain nor lose. In Europe we shall lose Heligoland, but we shall thereby allay German susceptibilities.

On the whole it may be asserted that the policy above advocated, the extension of the *do ut des* principle to imperial affairs, will be altogether to our advantage as being conducive to peace and to future national growth. If it be said that the burden of such vast dependencies as East Africa, Borneo, and New Guinea are too great for us to bear, we reply that unemployed British capital and the enterprise of British merchant princes will take up the challenge, and British mercantile companies will readily accept the burden a government may think fit to refuse. Moreover consolidation is an essential step towards the

realisation of that splendid vision—the federation of Greater Britain. Cut away the excrescences of foreign growth, lop off all withered or useless branches, and the great tree will, like a giant Banyan, strike root again, and spread its mighty limbs ever further and further.

E. •G. B.

TAVERNIER'S TRAVELS IN INDIA.*

DR. BALL's new edition of "Tavernier's Travels in India" will be welcomed by every student in Indian history. The last English translation, that by John Phillips, was published more than two centuries ago. Like most of the crabbed folios of the time, it is cumbersome to hold, and anything but pleasant to read. The translation is often incorrect, and all the proper names follow the old-fashioned French spelling, which few modern readers could identify unless familiar with the contemporary history and modern geography. The two handsome volumes before us form a delightful contrast. They appear in all the attractions of hot-pressed paper and clearly cut type, which in themselves are a literary luxury. The editor has availed himself of every possible advantage. His translation is made from the best French edition. The localities are identified with modern sites, and every name of place or person is repeated in modern spelling. The notes are especially valuable, being based on the Editor's own local knowledge of India, or on the recent researches of Prof. Charles Joret. To this must be added an excellent map of Tavernier's routes through India, and an appendix on the value of coins, weights, and measures, as well as all that the modern reader can desire in the way of explanation and illustration.

Tavernier was not a lawyer and diplomatist like Sir

* "Travels in India," by Jean Baptiste Tavernier, Baron of Aubonne, translated from the original French edition of 1676, with a biographical sketch of the Author, notes, appendix, etc., by V. Ball, LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S., in two volumes. London : Macmillan & Co. ; and New York. 1889.

Thomas Roe ; nor a French *savant* like Bertier ; nor a Cambridge graduate like Dr. Fryer ; nor even a well read student like Herbert or Thevenot. But he had perhaps a larger knowledge of the every-day world than any of them. Whilst still a young man he had seen the best parts of France, England, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, Poland, Hungary, and Italy. Before he published his " Travels in India," he had spent a long time in Turkey, and written the most minute and lively account of the inside of the Seraglio of the Great Turk at Constantinople. He also sojourned a long time in Persia, and was entertained by the Shah with all the *abandon* of wine and dancing women. He was a travelling jeweller, a keen man of business, ready on all occasions to buy or sell, curious about diamond mines, and versed in all the mysteries of money, coinage, and exchange. He was a bright and intelligent rover, with all the ready humour and love of pleasure which distinguished the bagman or commercial traveller in the days of gigs and skittish horses. He liked to trade with princes and peers, but he was not to be taken in by the swagger or blandishments of impecunious or hard-fisted grandees. He never forgot that he was a Frenchman and that his king was a powerful monarch. On one memorable occasion he threatened the Nawab of Bengal, the uncle of the great Aurangzeb, that his master would send a French fleet to the Red Sea and capture the rich pilgrim ships going to Mecca, and plunder the pious Mahommedan merchants who combined pilgrimage and trade, until revenge and compensation had been exacted from the Great Moghul himself.

In his old age Tavernier received a title of nobility from Louis XIV. ; and a characteristic portrait, which forms the frontispiece of the present edition, has been reproduced from a French engraving of the period, which seems to photograph the plain and practical jeweller, with his sense of humour, business wrinkles, and self-satisfied consciousness of acquired nobility.

Tavernier was born in 1605, and died about 1689, at the age of eighty-four. His travels in India extended over

a space of twenty-five years, beginning about 1641, when the Civil War commenced between Charles I. and his Parliament, and ending in 1666, the year of the Great Fire of London, in the reign of Charles II. Calcutta had not as yet been founded; and although the English had acquired Bombay, Tavernier never visited the place nor even referred to it. The East India Company had a factory, or house of agency, at Surat, the once famous port of the Great Moghul, on the western coast of India, about 160 miles to the north of Bombay. They had another factory at Dacca, the old capital of Bengal, which was famous for muslins. Far away to the south, on the coast of Coromandel, the English had a fortress, or rather a fortified factory, known as Fort St. George. Beside it, a native town of weavers and washers was growing up, which, together with the fortress, was known as Madras. But the most famous European city in India was the Portuguese capital of Goa, which was seated on a little island off the western or Malabar coast, about half-way between Surat and Cape Comorin. Goa had been the metropolis of the Portuguese power in the East for a hundred years before Tavernier began to travel, or the English or Dutch began to settle in India. It was the emporium of their trade: the seat of Catholic Christianity in India: the pride of every European merchant and missionary in the Eastern Seas.

The four great centres of interest for a jeweller like Tavernier were Delhi and Agra, the two capitals of the Moghul empire; Goa, off the Malabar coast; and Golconda, the modern Hyderabad, in the heart of the Deccan. The voyage round the Cape was an adventurous route for European ships in those days, except those which belonged to the Portuguese. Tavernier was an overland traveller, and in the first instance he appears to have accompanied a caravan through Persia and Afghanistan to the two Moghul capitals, but he tells very little about his travels through Central Asia. Later on he went by ship from the Persian Gulf to Surat. Henceforth Surat was his head-quarters.

From Surat two routes ran northward to Agra and Delhi : one through Guzerat, *viâ* Ahmedabad ; and the other through Central India, *viâ* Indore and Gwalior. Other routes from Surat led south-east to Golconda and Madras, and south-west to Goa. From Agra Tavernier travelled eastward, *viâ* Patna and Benares, to Dacca, the old capital of Bengal. He thus saw more of India than any European wanderer before the late Bishop Heber ; and Heber's journeys were for the most part confined to British India, for though he visited some localities in Rajputana and Central India, he never went either to Hyderabad, the modern Golconda, or to Goa.

It is a strange fact that in the middle of the seventeenth century, European travelling in India was as easy as in Europe. Indeed, Tavernier did not encounter many more difficulties or dangers than Bishop Heber, excepting that as a wealthy jeweller he was more likely to be robbed, than an English ecclesiastic. The Rajputs were in wholesome fear of the Great Moghul. The Mahrattas had as yet confined their raids to the Western Deccan, and were, kept within bounds, like the Scotch and Welsh Highlanders in the days of the Tudors and Stuarts. The Moghuls were in the zenith of their power. Within a few years, however, of the departure of Tavernier, the Moghul empire was on the wane ; and during the early years of the eighteenth century, it was only held together by prestige and routine, and the payment of black mail or chout to the Mahrattas. The invasion of Nadir Shah in 1738-39, with a host of Persians, Usbeks, and Afghans, was the death-blow to the Moghul empire, but that was seventy years after the departure of Tavernier. Meanwhile, and indeed during the century and a half between Tavernier and Heber, any moving about in the interior of India was almost impossible to Europeans, whether traders or gentlemen.

Tavernier travelled over the greater part of Northern India and the Deccan in a light cart with two seats, drawn by two oxen. He carried his luggage and bedding on the

spare seat, and provisions and wine in a box under the cart. He moved about with as much ease as any gentleman in Europe in the days which preceded the railways, except that he hired twenty or thirty Rajput horsemen as an escort to protect him against robbers. Some of these oxen would make journeys of sixty days, at the rate of twelve or fifteen leagues a day, during which they were always on the trot. There was, however, nothing like hotel accommodation in India. Travellers of all sorts herded together with camels, horses, and other beasts of burdens in caravanserais, which sometimes were huge buildings erected by princes or grandees as works of piety, but often were nothing but enclosed spaces with little huts for sleeping places. In all cases the traveller had to find his own provisions. In Mohammedan villages he could buy fowls, kids, and mutton ; but in Hindu localities no flesh meat was procurable, and the traveller was compelled to fare as he best could on grain, vegetables, flour, and curries.

Travelling on the highway, rough as it often was, was only possible in Moghul India. In the Hindu kingdoms of the remote south there were no roads whatever. Travellers were carried through jungles in palanquins, and this was the universal practice in Southern India within the memory of living men. It was not until the days of the much abused Lord Dalhousie that Europeans could travel from Calcutta to Delhi in a mail cart ; and down to the day he left India there were no roads in the Madras Presidency that were worthy of the name. Ladies, gentlemen, and children were carried from Madras to Bangalore and the Nilgherries in palanquins on the shoulders of coolies ; and the journeys occupied nearly as many days as the railway can now accomplish in hours.

Tavernier describes Surat as a city of moderate size environed by a wall of earth. It had a poor fortress with four towers at its four angles ; but the walls were not terraced, and the guns were placed on scaffoldings. No one could enter the city by land or water without passing this fortress.

The houses were mere barns, built of reeds and covered with clay. There were only nine or ten decent buildings in all Surat ; of these two or three belonged to the Governor of the port, who collected the customs ; the others belonged to wealthy Mohammedan merchants ; and the mansions of the English and Dutch agencies were as distinguished and imposing as any in Surat. Europeans, however, were not allowed to buy houses, but only to hire one or two on a yearly or monthly rental ; as the Great Moghul or Padishah was always fearful lest the building should be converted into a fortress, and set him at defiance. The Portuguese had contrived to convert factories into fortresses at Hooghly and other localities in the reign of the tolerant Akbar, before English or Dutch had tried to settle in India ; and the successors of Akbar were resolved that no European should play the same game again on any pretence whatever.

The Custom House at Surat was close to the fortress, and a terrible ordeal for Europeans. The Moghul officials were exacting and insulting, unless propitiated by presents. All goods landed at Surat were carried to the Custom House, and carefully searched, and then subjected to a duty of about five per cent. on the estimated value. All persons were searched on landing, to prevent smuggling. Gold and silver money was taken away, melted down, and recoined with the Moghul's stamp and superscription. Gold and jewels were sometimes smuggled ashore in the huge wigs of the period ; but if discovered the offender was charged double duty. Tavernier tells a story of a ship's captain who had been mulcted for smuggling, and had taken his revenge by covering up a roast sucking pig like contraband treasure. Of course the dish was seized by the Mohammedan officials, and polluted all their garments, whilst no one ventured to complain for fear of other discoveries, which might have brought down the wrath of the Padishah. •

Tavernier was at Delhi in 1665, where he had some dealings in jewellery with Aurangzeb and his grandees. At Delhi he met Bernier, who had just returned with the

Moghul Court from a pleasant trip to Cashmere. At Delhi the two Frenchmen appear to have planned a journey to Bengal. In November, 1665, they were both at Agra, where Shah Jehan, the father of Aurangzeb, was still living as a state prisoner in his palace, and where he died the following year. From Agra the two Frenchmen went down the river Jumna to Allahabad, and then to Patna, Benares, and Dacca. Tavernier has something to say of the cities, palaces, and tombs at Delhi and Agra, and the courts of Aurangzeb and Shah Jehan; but the information he conveys has been given of late years in works dealing with history proper, and in the present article it may suffice to draw more immediate attention to the specialities of Tavernier.

Travelling in India is always monotonous. Tavernier spent his time so profitably in listening to Bernier, that he has noted but few incidents of his journey. At one place they met 110 waggons, each one drawn by six oxen, and each one carrying Rs. 50,000 in silver. The sum total was equivalent to more than six millions sterling, according to the current exchange of the time, when the rupee varied from 2s. 3d. to 2s. 6d. This amount was the revenue for the year which was drawn from the land in Bengal, or rather such of it as the Nawab thought proper to forward to the imperial treasury after paying all the expenses of administration, and filling his own coffers. In the present day the land revenue of Bengal, collected on the Moghul system, would amount to twelve millions sterling at the lowest computation; but in 1793 the British Government transformed the zemindars or collectors of revenue into landed proprietors, and fixed the yearly revenue for ever at something like three millions sterling under what is known as the "perpetual settlement." From this latter amount must be deducted all the cost of administration, leaving but a small surplus for roads and other public works. At Patna the two Frenchmen met some Dutchmen, and halted in the open street, and emptied two bottles of

Shiraz wine, which at any rate proved that Moghuls were lenient towards Europeans in the matter of wine.

In January, 1666, Tavernier reached Dacca in Eastern Bengal, where he had more dealings in jewellery with Shaista Khan, the uncle of Aurangzeb, who was at that time Governor or Nawab of the province. At Dacca the English and Dutch had factories, and Tavernier and Bernier were apparently treated with all the jovial hospitality which the merchants of olden time never failed to extend to all European strangers who travelled in India.

Tavernier's descriptions of Goa and Golconda are more interesting than his brief notices of the cities of Northern India. Goa, the capital of the Portuguese empire in the East, was woefully on the decline. The Dutch were blockading the port. Noble families that had once been extremely wealthy, and lived in the utmost luxury, were reduced to poverty and starvation and begging for alms. Ladies went about with petitions in the night time, and society was demoralised. The Mohammedan kingdom of Golconda, the modern Hyderabad, was under the rule of a Sultan who was as yet independent of the Great Moghul. It was a rich country, abounding in corn, rice, cattle, sheep, fowl, and other commodities necessary to life. The tanks were numerous and abounded with fish. The capital, which is now called Hyderabad, was named after the fortress of Golconda a short distance off. The Sultan administered justice from a balcony in the city, which overlooked a square crowded with people, who were barred off with pikes and ropes. A Secretary of State stood under the balcony to receive petitions, which were placed in bags and drawn up to the balcony by cords, for the Sultan's consideration and orders. The nobles mounted guard in turns, some of them commanding five or six thousand horse soldiers. Horses, camels, and elephants, went in frequent processions through the main street; and Tavernier, who lodged in the same street, describes the sight as amusing and interesting.

The public women played a great part in the social life at Golconda. Above 20,000 were registered in the books of the darogah, the head of the police, and none were allowed to follow their calling whose names had not been registered. They paid no tribute to the Sultan, but presented themselves before him every Friday as he stood in the balcony, and entertained his Majesty with music and dances. In the cool of the evening they were to be seen at the doors of their little houses, and at night they placed a candle or lighted lamp there as a signal.

The great man in Golconda was an Arab Sheikh, who came from Mecca. This man arrived at Golconda as a religious mendicant, and proposed to marry the eldest daughter of the Sultan. At first he was laughed at, and then he was thrown into prison. At last he was sent to the seaport of Masulipatam, and placed on board a ship and carried back to his own country. After two years he returned to Golconda, and gained such credit that the Sultan gave him the princess in marriage, and made him Prime Minister. He was passionately fond of mathematics, and in spite of his being a Mohammedan he favoured all Christians who were learned in that science. He showed a particular regard to a French Capuchin, known as Father Ephraim, who was passing through Golconda, on his way to Burma, where he had been sent by his religious superiors. He offered to build a house and church for Father Ephraim, but could not prevail on him to disobey orders. He gave the Father a magnificent dress of honour, an ox to carry him to the port of Masulipatam, and two attendants to wait on him during the journey.

The further adventures of Father Ephraim form one of the strangest stories that has ever been told by any traveller in India. He reached Masulipatam, but could not find a ship to carry him to Burma. He made his way to Madras, where the English persuaded him to remain, and built him a house and a church. Three miles to the south of Fort St. George was the town of St. Thomé, on the same coast of

Córomandel, which belonged to the Portuguese. Father Ephraim was a Frenchman, but spoke both English and Portuguese as well as Tamil, which last was the language of the country. He preached every Sunday and festival day at Madras, in both Portuguese and Tamil, and attracted such large crowds from St. Thomé that the Portuguese priests grew jealous, and resolved to ruin the French father. The Portuguese picked a quarrel with some English sailors in the St. Thomé roads, and gave them a good beating. The quarrel led to much altercation between the authorities at Madras and St. Thomé. The English President of Madras demanded satisfaction. Father Ephraim went to St. Thomé as mediator, but was promptly seized by ten or twelve officers of the Inquisition, placed on board a small armed frigate, put into irons, and carried off to Goa, and lodged in the Inquisition. No one dared to interfere. Neither the Viceroy of Goa nor the Archbishop would interpose; they were specially exempted from the authority of the Inquisition; but notwithstanding their high rank, they each had reason to fear that the Inquisitor and his Council might complain of their conduct to the King of Portugal, and in that case either of them might have been removed from office and summoned to Lisbon, to account for their proceedings.

In this dilemma a certain Father Zenon, who knew and respected Father Ephraim, proceeded to Madras, and learned all the particulars of the treachery. He kept his plan a secret from the English President, but confided it to the Captain of the garrison in Fort St. George, who was an Irishman of great bravery, and very indignant at the way in which Father Ephraim had been kidnapped. It was ascertained that the Governor of St. Thomé went every Saturday at early morning to pray at a chapel on a neighbouring hill: apparently the "Mount" which is well known to every resident at Madras, and used to be the headquarters of the Madras Artillery. The Irish Captain accordingly laid an ambuscade of soldiers near the hill, and arrested

the Portuguese Governor as he left his palanquin, and carried him off to Madras, and in spite of threats and protestations hurried him to the convent of the Capuchins, and locked him up in a strong cell with iron gratings. Here he was told that he would not be released until Father Ephraim was brought back from Goa. A few days afterwards, however, he was delivered from his prison by a French drummer at Fort St. George, and made his escape to St. Thomé, where he was received with great rejoicings.

Matters began to grow serious for Father Ephraim. The news of his unjust imprisonment by the Inquisition at Goa created a great sensation in Europe. The King of Portugal sent orders to Goa, that the Father should be immediately released. The Pope threatened to excommunicate all the clergy of Goa, if the Father was not at once set at liberty. The Inquisition, however, was all-powerful, and set the King and Pope alike at defiance. At last the Mohammedan prince at Golconda, the Arab Sheikh who had married the daughter of the Sultan, the friend and patron of Father Ephraim, heard how the worthy French priest had been treated by the Portuguese, and interposed lustily in his behalf. The Sultan of Golconda was at war against the Hindu Rajas of the Carnatic, and sent an order to his general who commanded his forces in the south, to besiege St. Thomé without delay, and to kill and destroy all within it, unless the Governor pledged himself that Father Ephraim should be released within two months. The result was that boat after boat was sent from St. Thomé to Goa with pressing entreaties for the release of Father Ephraim. The Inquisition at Goa was compelled to yield to the alarming pressure which had been brought to bear on the Governor of St. Thomé; and the Catholic priest owed his deliverance from his Christian persecutors to the good offices of the Mohammedan Sultan of Golconda.

Want of space prevents the extraction of more information from the travels of Tavernier. We have been content to draw attention to a few salient facts, which may possibly

give the reader an appetite for more. Men of science who may be anxious to gather authentic information respecting the once famous diamond mines in India, and students desirous of realising the social condition of the people in an age which is fast passing away, will do well to avail themselves of Dr. Ball's reproduction of the quaint descriptions and gossiping stories of the lively old French jeweller.

J. TALBOYS WHEELER.

AN OFFICIAL TOUR IN THE DECCAN.*

HIS Royal Highness Prince Albert Victor left Madras after his second visit to Lord Connemara on the morning of the 16th December for Rangoon ; and three days later, His Excellency the Governor, accompanied by Lord Marsham and myself, started for his (eleventh) tour, in the Godavari and Kistna districts. In the interval of three days, to the great relief of the Government, rain had fallen in most of the southern districts, where prices had risen so considerably as to give ground for much anxiety. The trifling grain riots which had occurred in Trichinopoly, Cumbaconum and Tanjore, were of no great moment, being brought about chiefly by the bad characters to be found in all large towns, who welcome any period of distress as an occasion for plunder, and seek their private gain in the public loss and misfortune. It was not only to visit the great irrigation works of the Kistna and the Godavari, but also to inquire what stocks of grain might be on hand to assist other districts where scarcity prevailed, that Lord Connemara proposed to make this tour during the Christmas holidays. His Excellency had not long before, during the famine in Ganjam, called these favoured deltas to the aid of their less fortunate neighbour.

The rain had fallen in torrents all Tuesday and Wednesday, and on Thursday morning the flood-gates were still open when we embarked on board the SS. *Sirsa*, and the

* The above account of Lord Connemara's eleventh tour, from the pen of his Private Secretary, Mr. J. D. Rees, is so interesting that we wish to preserve it intact in our pages, for which we have Mr. Rees' special permission.

† His Excellency Lord Connemara, G.C.I.E. ; Mr. Rees, Private Secretary ; Viscount Marsham, A.D.C.

waves were running high through the yawning eastern entrance of the ever-unfinished Harbour. The Governor's departure was private, but a salute was none the less fired from the Naval Commander-in-Chief's Flagship *Boadicea*, and the Admiral, Sir Edmund Fremantle, came off to the *Sirsa* to bid His Excellency good-bye.

After tossing about all day and all night we reached Masulipatam on the morning of the 20th November. Nothing was visible but the long low coast, over which in 1864 a storm-wave burst, penetrating seventeen miles inland, and destroying thirty thousand people, and innumerable head of cattle. The traveller does not realise, in these times of peace, that the coast along which he travels was long the scene of desperate conflict between the English and the French for the supremacy of India, and that one of the most gallant fights of this land of battle-fields was fought here by Colonel Forde, who defeated the Marquis de Conflans at Masulipatam in 1759, rising superior to the most desperate circumstances, and attacking under every possible disadvantage, a far superior force entrenched within a strong and well-provisioned fortress. In ages past, there had been religious wars between Buddhism and the indigenous idolatry of the country. Buddhism conquered, and in its turn was driven out by Brahminism, which rules supreme to this day. Subsequently came secular wars. The Mahomedan kingdoms of the Deccan overthrew the Hindu rulers of the south, and the Great Moghul triumphed over them in turn, and finally a lieutenant of the Great Moghul came under the influence successively of the French and the English, and ceded to the latter the districts wherein we are about to travel, and whence we proceed to the capital of his successor, the Nizam of Hyderabad.

It is curious to reflect that the jealousy and rivalry of the Dutch originally led the English of Masulipatam to found a factory in Madras, and that in 1679 the representative of the East India Company on tour presented a purse to the King of Golconda's lieutenant at Masulipatam, as being "a

person rising in the favour of the Court to whom a small summe of ready money given privately would be more acceptable than a greater summe given publickly." The English and the Dutch had been competing at Masulipatam for the commerce of the coast for more than a half-century, before spotted deer and water-fowl were sent thence to His Majesty King Charles II. of England. The picture of King Charles, surrounded by his subjects, feeding the water-fowl in the Park, has ever been a favourite one with the English people, and it would be odd if those water-fowl had come from Masulipatam. But on to the royal table, or into the royal parks, they certainly went.

After a brief halt at this historic site, we travelled on along the coast of the district, which in size is about equal to the principality of Wales, and next morning arrived at Coconada, in the Bay of Coringa, ten miles north of the Gautami mouth of the river Godavari. To the north and north-east of the anchorage, low hills come down near the water's edge relieving the coast from the barren and desolate appearance that it presents near Masulipatam. The harbour was alive with boats bearing on their sails huge red crosses, anchors, moons and such like devices, whereby their owners may recognise them from the distant shore. The Collector, Mr. Power, met us on board, and another voyage of six miles in a steam launch landed us between the groynes which form at once an entrance to the town of Coconada, and to the canals which extend thence to the great anicut of the Godavari, since the construction of which the trade of the town has advanced by "leaps and bounds," the value of its exports and imports having risen from £300,000 in 1862 to £740,000 in 1872 and £1,500,000 in 1888. Trade, to which a considerable impetus was given by the American war, which was the cause of extensive shipments of cotton, suffers a little at present from the construction of the Nizam's State Railway to Bezwada, whence much delta produce finds its way to Bombay. It is expected, however, that the extension of the East Coast line to

Coconada will more than counteract this effect, and it is hoped that it will also convert the port into an important outlet for the coal mines of Singareni, which we are going to see. The roadway on the sea-wall was covered with natives wearing bright and many-coloured garments, and on arrival at the jetty we found present the usual assemblage of European district officers, zemindars in purple and gold, and municipal councillors in more sober and business-like attire. A feature not quite so invariable on such occasions was the presence of an astrologer, who was prepared to predict, and perhaps prophesy, for a consideration. Immediately the Governor landed, a choir of ten pandits or wise men sang a chorus of Sanscrit benediction, and then followed a more prosaic and practical address, which referred gratefully to the Governor's efforts in obtaining the sanction of the Secretary of State and the Government of India to the construction of the East Coast railway, the survey of which is actually in progress. In reply, the Governor alluded to the fallacy of the opinion that the existence of maritime and canal communication rendered a railway unnecessary. He pointed out that the proposed line would not only develop the internal resources of these districts and rouse into life its dormant industries, but would also increase the sea-borne trade both in regard to exports from, and imports to, the coast.

At present the rich and populous districts of Ganjam, Vizagapatam and Godavari are entirely bereft of railway communication with the outer world, and the proposed line will extend from Bezwada, over the Kistna river, to Samulcotta, eight miles from Coconada, and thence through Vizagapatam to Vizianagram, whence it will proceed to Cuttack, a distance of some 500 miles from Bezwada. The first portion of this line from Bezwada to Coconada, whither a branch is proposed from Samulcotta, is necessary in order to connect the Bellary-Kistna and Hyderabad State Railways with the rice-producing deltas of this district and of the Kistna, while its continuation to Vizianagram will, it is believed

prove a remunerative undertaking, on account of the rich and populous nature of the country through which it will pass. Then it is thought highly desirable that the line should be extended to Ganjam, which so lately suffered from famine. This district is cut off from communication with the other parts of the country, being a mere strip of land between the Eastern Ghâts and the Bay of Bengal, isolated at all times from railways, and during a part of the year from maritime communication, owing to want of harbours and turbulent sea. For the same reason it is thought equally desirable to connect Ganjam with Cuttack on the north, more especially as the latter place will, it is believed, be finally connected with the Bengal-Nagpur Railway system.

The town of Coconada was, as is usual on such occasions, beautifully decorated, and the archways displayed some original mottoes such as "Receive with *grande cher apropos*" and "Welcome with *gaieté à la mode*." In the centre of each of these remarkable inscriptions stood the effigy of an *embonpoint* Telugu lady, who emptied trays of flowers on the Governor's head as the carriage passed underneath the arches.

In the afternoon the Chamber of Commerce presented an address, in which they deprecated the closing of the irrigation canals for annual repairs, which seems, however, unavoidable, these canals being primarily irrigation works, and of secondary, though of great, importance in respect to navigation.

In the afternoon the new steam dredger *Connemara* was launched by the Governor, and christened by Mrs. Simson, wife of the President of the Chamber of Commerce. This little ceremony was very well arranged, and as the champagne bottle burst on the port beam, the Governor touched a string, and the ship slipped gently off its cradle into the water. At dinner we were glad to learn that many contracts for the urgent supply of rice to southern districts, which had been entered into by Madras merchants, had been suddenly cancelled—a proof of the change which recent

rains have made in the prospects and situation in the south.

Among the official matters considered at Coconada were some which possess general interest, for instance, the progress of local self-government. Into the municipal councils of the district the electoral system has been largely introduced, but the municipal administration has not altogether met with the approbation of the Government, as would appear from orders published, which have been communicated to the Press. The provision of female medical aid is receiving the attention of the authorities, and seven certificated midwives are at work in the district, but the prejudice against European methods of treatment seems stronger in the Northern Circars than in the southern districts. The East Indian midwife attached to the Coconada hospital attends on an average to only twenty cases in the year. In Rajamundry again, which is considered intellectually as an advanced centre, the objection to European attendance and European treatment is particularly strong.

The ryot population of the district, being generally well-to-do, does not borrow under the provisions of the Agricultural Loans Act, and when loans are required the much-abused Sowcar here, as elsewhere, is preferred to the more reasonable but less lenient and elastic Government.

Next morning the Governor and his staff took a walk through some native villages. The soil near the coast is sandy and covered with the delicate purple flowers of the goat's-foot convolvulus (*Ipomœa pescaprae*). This sandy soil, however, is by no means barren, and supports, besides groves of palmyra trees, orchards of cashew-nut and guava. The pathways to the villages passed between hedges of aloe and prickly-pear.

We first came upon a hamlet inhabited by persons engaged in drawing toddy. Arrangements are being made for regulating the traffic in toddy, or fermented palm-juice ; but the inhabitants of the toddy drawers' village did not

view the future restrictions with favour, and followed the Governor for a long distance repeating their objections, which I endeavoured to translate into English from their euphonious Telugu. Next we come on a village of herdsmen, and one old shepherd, solicitous of the Governor's weal, advised him to be very careful in going over a primitive bridge near the village. After that we came on some washermen beating their clothes on stones. One of these was gathering earth impregnated with alkali, which they use as a substitute for soap, and a fairly efficient substitute it is believed to be.

On Sunday, the Native girls' school and the hospital were visited, and inquiries made as to the progress of female medical education. The church too was inspected, that certain repairs might be considered, before divine service, with which the day ended.

Next morning, the 23rd, we rose early and left by canal for Rajamundry—a distance of 44 miles more or less. We were towed along in a little convoy of house-boats by the steam launch *Arthur Cotton*, named after the celebrated Engineer, who constructed the great Godavari irrigation works. In the river from the head of the delta there is a continual fall; consequently we had a continual rise, and passed three locks, one a double one, with a rise of 18 feet. The canal banks were green, and banyans shaded the road which ran alongside. All around us were fields of stubble, and innumerable strawricks. The character of the country, but for the palmyras, much resembles that of the fens. When you get within a few miles of the great dam which stems the stream at Dowlaishweram, first one canal and then another takes off in different directions. After the separation of each canal the artificial waterway grows broader and broader, till near Dowlaishweram it becomes as wide as the Thames at Maidenhead, but probably contains a great deal more water. At last it ends in a lock; and when we leave the boats and mount the banks, an expanse of water stretches some four miles before the eye,

Immediately in front extends the first portion of the great anicut which, with the help of three islands at the head of the delta, holds up the river, and diverts its waters on either side, so as to irrigate upwards of 612,000 acres of fertile rice-bearing lands, and to water with gold a delta of 2,000 square miles. Every river in India is a Pæctolus, but this great stream has been made more subservient to the wants of man than perhaps any other of its size in the world. Practically at the present moment it ends at this great anicut, above which you see nothing but miles of water, and below which spread miles of yellow sand.

It is in the nature of such works that they are never finished. In 1852, the dam and some of the distribution works were completed for the exceedingly low figure of £150,000. Labour was then cheap, and material abounds on every side. Many times since have these titanic works been considered complete. In 1880, eighteen years later, they were completed at a cost of £868,000, and now in 1890 it is believed they are pretty well completed at a cost of £1,180,000. Whatever they cost, however, so long ago as 1877, the returns directly due to the water distributed amounted to upwards of £2,000,000, and in 1879 it was calculated that goods of the value of upwards of £3,500,000 passed over the canals, while the value of the exports and imports of the district, which in 1847, before the construction of the anicut, amounted to £170,000, had risen in 1887 to upwards of £1,500,000. The great dam itself rises some 14 feet above the level of the stream and consists of three long portions and one short one, amounting in the aggregate to 3,982 yards in length. The navigable channels, which distribute the water, are 528 miles long, and the total length of distributive channels is not less than 1,600 miles.

Just before we got to the anicut a "dugout," or boat made by hollowing out the trunk of a palmyra, came off from the shore with the post. Among the letters was an elaborate book of advertisements from Treacher, the

Bombay merchant, which I threw overboard into the canal. The small plunge of the disappearing book was followed by the larger plunge of a man from the bank, who rescued the book and swam after the boat with it.

From Dowlaishweram the SS. *John Mullins* brought us up to Rajamundry, the Judge's house "*impositum saxis late candentibus*" becoming visible long before we reached it over the broad expanse of water. As you steam away from the anicut, and get from under the lee of the island, to which its first portion extends, you see beyond you more water, and as you get higher up you see beyond that a still greater breadth; and finally across the four islands you catch a view, soon to be obscured by other islets, of an unbroken sheet of water four miles wide.

Arrived at last at the landing place at Rajamundry, we find the bastions of the old fort and the river bank crowded with people, who overflowed into the banyan trees, which were filled with living fruit, clad for the most part in clothes as red as its own berries. The crowds here are much more gaily dressed than they are in the southern districts, and nearly every man has a cloth or a turban of bright red. It was an extremely orderly crowd, as may be inferred from the presence of large numbers of Telugu babies, "brown, fat, and fascinating," as Lady Dufferin calls them in her recently-published book. At bed-time a troupe of girls played the game of stick at the back of the house. In this game, a troupe dances around, each girl holding two sticks in her hand, and as they meet and pass each strikes the sticks of the other, and the sound of a continual tapping arises, not in itself unpleasant, but not conducive to sleep. It has often been remarked how sounds suggest past associations, and the tapping of these little bamboos recalled a similar and greater tap-chorus at Seoul, the far distant capital of Corea, where at nightfall the women get up in this way the linen of their husbands, who are extremely well turned out. Those who are not engaged in this species of ironing may go out for a walk at that hour. The sound

serves also as a kind of curfew for men, who, if found about at this the women's time for exercise, are very apt to be taken up by the watchman, and bamboosed.

Among the various apparatus of *tamasha* in the town was a small peepshow, and coming up behind the exhibitor, I heard him chattering in quick and fluent Telugu, "Walk up, ladies and gentlemen, and see His Excellency the Governor of Madras get into his carriage in front of Government House." On peeping myself, I discovered a gentleman, extremely unlike the Governor, getting into a carriage unknown to His Excellency, in front of a house not at all resembling Government House. So while our friends are being amused by Barnum in England, we are not without our consolations in Rajamundry.

Next morning we rose at 5, and left at 6 o'clock, in the *John Mullins*. It is the custom here, after a decent lapse of time such as may add an element of antiquity or mystery to that of high reputation, for the Engineers in charge of these great irrigation works to be canonised as the representatives it may be of the river-god. Amongst the natives some such process as this continually goes on, and the English community here apparently acknowledge the same principle to the extent, at any rate, of naming the little ships of the flotilla of the Godavari, after the most eminent Engineers, who have controlled and distributed its bountiful and beneficent waters. This makes the ships very interesting to those who, like ourselves, had actually met in the flesh those eponymous heroes, Sir Arthur Cotton and General Mullins. The fact should also stimulate Indian executive officers in their efforts to cope with their ever-increasing duties.

No earnest district officer can be sure that he is not qualifying for a hero. In Tinnevely the people say of the largest anicut across the Tambraparni, begun by Mr. Puckle, that it was a god-like work, built by one who was like the gods. A religious character is ever a great factor in the evolution of gods from men. Sir Arthur Cotton, in report-

ing to Government the completion of the Godavari anicut, hoped that its accomplishment might lead to an increasing appreciation of a Christian Government, and trusted that it was only the beginning of a series of works worthy of our nation, of our knowledge, of our religion, and of the extraordinary power God has been pleased to place in our hands. To this day Sir Arthur maintains a colporteur who distributes Christian tracts in the country irrigated by his great dam. One of his assistants, General Haig, recently came out from England to do a hot-weather's duty for a sick missionary in Godavari. The respect and veneration of the natives for men of this stamp is boundless, and if a temple were erected to either of them in the delta, it would not lack worshippers. The Governor of the day, the Marquess of Tweeddale, should also live in the grateful recollection of the people, for his strong aid was needed, and was freely given, to obtain sanction for such gigantic works from the Court of Directors.

We steamed away gaily up the slightly narrowing river as far as a picturesque island-hill crowned by an ancient fane. The scenery here is just such as the traveller would be requested by the guide-book to pause and admire, and we did pause for a longer period than we had intended. At one point below, where the existence of a shoal was known, all preparations had been made for dragging the steam launch off had she grounded, and crowds of coolies stood in the shallow water, their white turbans looking like the tops of mushrooms, of which their heads were the black stalks. Just here a raft of wood about 300 yards long passed us. Woodcutters thus bring timber down the river to Dowlaishweram, living themselves for perhaps a month on their rafts. We also passed now and again alluvial islands such as are repeatedly formed by the deposit of the rolling silt of the descending river. These islands are well enough when they rise out of the river, but loose quicksands below it are the bane of its navigation, as we soon experienced. After steaming eight miles past groves of acacias and rows of sentinel

palms, and now and again passing through the half-section of a hamlet cut in two by the impetuous floods of the river, we left the *John Mullins* for the *Victoria*, and proceeded slowly and anxiously up the stream. The steamer draws 3 feet, and at the bow a man with a leadstick continually calls the soundings. He pokes into the water a long bamboo on which feet and inches are marked. He calls four feet, $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and then three feet. The Telugu captain gesticulates wildly, and gives multitudinous orders, all of which are repeated in a shrill voice by a boy, who appears delighted with our parlous state. After three feet are called we see the yellow sands below us. We hang for one moment on the apex of disaster, and finally clear the sand bank and go on. We passed another alluvial island, and learnt that the tobacco grown here is not all sent to Burmah to be made into cigars, but that part is manufactured in the district into cheroots, which sell for a shilling a hundred. A specimen cheroot is being examined, when the man with the leadstick again calls excitedly, "mark three," the captain again gesticulates, the crew follow the captain's lead, and the *Victoria* runs hard upon a sand bank, whereon the boy jumps on the starboard paddle-box, and calls aloud to the *John Mullins*, "Hi ! jalli-boattoo."

We reverse the engines and resort to every possible means of getting off, but at last accept the fact of shipwreck and take, as the boy at first suggested, to the "jalli-boattoo" or jolly-boat, and make for the *John Mullins*, which was puffing backwards and forwards in momentary expectation of grounding like ourselves. It was of no use to be established safely on board the *John Mullins* without our kitchen-boat, which was attached to the *Victoria*. So we tried to get her off, and finally did, though we were within an ace of losing her in the rapid current. But we did not desert the *Victoria* in her troubles, and waited till some 200 coolies with infinite chattering and impossible delay came and pulled her off the bank. Then our flotilla again proceeded on its way, but all hope of getting up to the gorge,

nearly 50 miles from Rajamundry, within the day had to be abandoned. Luckily for us a camp had been arranged, at which we were to have halted on the way back, some six miles beyond the scene of our shipwreck. We spent the night there, and shipwrecked mariners never fared so well before. The fact is the shoals change almost hourly, and we were lost in a passage that had been explored and pronounced safe the day before.

Next morning we rose at cockcrow, at junglecock crow—a very pleasant sound to hear all around your camp—and started, this time in the *John Mullins*, for the gorge, which we commenced to enter directly after leaving the camp. The river here winds through low hills rising to a maximum height of 2,800 feet and clothed from top to bottom by green and feathery forests of bamboo. When you have rounded a conical hill you find in front of you a long range of mountains, from which seemingly there is no outlet. The scenery consequently resembles a succession of peaceful mountain lakes, at such times as this at any rate, when the river is not in flood. Sir Charles Trevelyan has likened it to the Rhine, and Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff compares the gorge to the iron gates of the Danube—a comparison the felicity of which is attested by Lord Connemara. One of our passengers suggests the English lakes, and it certainly seems to resemble them rather than the Rhine. The complete solitude of the surroundings is of such a character as to make the ‘castled crags’ of the Rhine appear quite populous. As to the English lakes, the presence of palms and bamboos seems to me to give the scenery an unmistakably tropical appearance. I do not know why any one river should necessarily be compared with some other river, or some other scene in which water plays a part; but to follow the example of the distinguished personages named above, and to institute a comparison, I would say that each successive reach of the river as you approach the gorge resembles the solitary mountain lakes of Japan in general, and that of Chiuzenjee in particular. From Sira-

waka to Kolar, a distance of four miles, more or less, the channel is not more than 300 yards wide, and the waters of the Godavari collected in an area of upwards of 115,000 square miles, and swollen on their course of 800 miles by innumerable affluents, roll down this narrow mountain gorge between two walls of hills rising, but not precipitously, to nearly 3,000 feet in height, and clothed from top to bottom in bamboos and scrub jungle, the vegetation reaching right down to the high water-mark of the river, visible some 30 feet above us on the rocks. Even here, however, there is nothing grand or stupendous in the scene, nothing at all resembling the canons of the Rocky Mountains, or even approaching in beauty and effect the gorge of bare white marble rocks through which the Nerbudda rushes, near Meer Gunj, about 400 miles north as the crow flies. The scenery is beautiful and its solitude most striking; but those who want a grand effect should visit it, as I believe they cannot well do, when the great river is in flood. Beyond the gorge the Godavari enters an open country again, and an effort was made at a cost of £700,000 to make it navigable during its course through the Central Provinces—a project which has been finally abandoned.

On the way back we got a shot at some crocodiles sunning themselves on one of the islands, and we accomplished the whole distance, of 50 miles more or less, from the top of the gorge to Rajamundry in a pleasant and at times somewhat exciting voyage of eleven hours. We had become so callous to shipwreck that we eat breakfast in the barge we were towing, while the hapless *Victoria* behind us was again being taken off a bank by crowds of chattering coolies.

During the greater part of this journey we were in the Agency tracts of the Godavari, a wild uncivilised region in which the ordinary civil Courts are not established, and where penal fiscal laws are not in force. On the left bank of the river stretches the Rumpa country, where a little local mismanagement was magnified in 1879 into an 'interesting little rebellion,' for so it was described at the time in the

English newspapers. The fact is that the disturbance was one with which a strong body of police could have coped, and the Agent to the Governor in the Godavari of that day—a great scholar and mathematician—was reported in the neighbouring hill tracts of Vizagapatam, to have ridden through the disturbed country alone on his elephant, clothed in a black frockcoat and wearing a black silk hat. However that may be, the country is perfectly quiet and the people are quite contented now. The leader of this pigmy war was finally caught, owing to his faithful attendance at a trysting place, where like other warriors he was welcomed by a fair, but I believe in this case not faithless, one, for she did not betray him. Mr. Martindale, or Lord Guillamore, or some other officer employed in pacifying Rumpa at the time, should write a popular account of this little rebellion, for it has been dignified with the name. The country is superlatively interesting, and, like the people, little known. Nor I believe has any narrative of the disturbance been published.

We heard many things, official and unofficial, of Rumpa and the surrounding regions from the Collector. It is well known that in past times human sacrifices were annually offered in these hill tracts to Kali, the goddess of evil, and it is within the Collector's own experience that, not long since, in one of the largest towns the people kept a man for a week in a cage before a temple where a festival was being celebrated. On the seventh day they shaved the head of a sheep, dressed it up in man's clothing, took the man out of the cage before the goddess, and then offered the sheep as a sacrifice, saying "Receive, O Kali! such an offering as in these times we are able to make to thee." At the same time it must be remembered that this tale is only characteristic of a particular wild and uncivilised tract, the people of which would be described now by the neighbouring inhabitants of the plains, very much as they are in the National Indian Epics, as demons, monkeys and monsters. Yet are the hill-people, in spite of their former leaning

towards human sacrifices, and their readiness to kill their enemies, in other respects by no means a blood-thirsty or savage race. They must, outside of courts, at any rate, be judged by their own standard, and no judicial officer who has had to try them for the murders which they not infrequently commit, has not felt that the law which he applies was created in, and is applicable to, another world than that of the simple and primitive hillmen. It is not long since the priest of one of their temples sat out in the jungle for a week, and coming back with a cane, of which many grew in the forest, alleged that he had been in communication with the deity, who had given him the stick. The production of the wand proved the truth of his assertion ; and as he prophesied a good time for the hillmen, who would soon have the country for themselves, he was speedily joined by a little band of adherents who plundered and burnt the police station, and spent a week in a state of pygmy rebellion, and at the expiry of that time quietly handed themselves over to the authorities.

These people are in every way the greatest possible contrast to the inhabitants of the plains. They have no caste, and they worship the spirits of the mountains, and a tutelary god who protects them from the ravages of tigers. They revere, nay worship their ancestors, like the Chinese. They believe in one Supreme God, like the Christian. They regard heaven as a large and strong fort where there is an abundance of rice that defies the vicissitudes of seasons, and they picture hell to themselves as a place where an iron crow ever gnaws away the flesh of the sinner. Meanwhile at Rajamundry, within a day's journey, the people are highly educated, take the most complex and metaphysical views of religion and philosophy, and boycott on all sides one or two people who are endeavouring to promote the re-marriage of Hindu widows. There are 50 miles between Rajamundry and Rumpa, and a whole world between the inhabitants of either locality. When travelling in these hill tracts myself, I remember hearing of the

murder, by a hillman, of his child, to which he had been much attached. The man was brought down to the coast for trial, and in his defence said he had lived and cultivated for some forty years. The day after that child was born, he had met a tiger, but thought little of it. The next day he met the tiger again, which disturbed his mind. On the third day he saw the tiger a third time. Then he knew that the child was at the bottom of it, and sorely against his will, he was obliged to put it out of the way. Far away in the Andaman Isles, this poor man expiates his offence, and speculates vaguely as to the reasons which induced the Englishman to view his misfortune as a crime. Witchcraft flourishes in these jungles, and but for the Police, witches' teeth would be extracted, and witches would be ducked in ponds, according to the approved prescriptions observed in such cases alike in East and West.

Travelling by steamer on the Godavari, we are reminded of another incident of the so-called "Rumpa rebellion." A band of "rebels" took one of the little river steamers from the police, who fled for reinforcements, but on going back found that the victorious hillmen had been scared by the whistle, which they took for the devil, when one of them with the curiosity of ignorance had pulled the string, and let loose the steam fiend.

These steamers belong to the Irrigation Department, but fleets of private boats ply on river and canal, and carry passengers at ridiculously low rates. Competition has reached such a pitch that rival carriers are said to take passengers occasionally, not only for nothing, but also to give them bananas to eat on the way. Nothing like this has yet been exhibited in England, though occasionally you can go from San Francisco to New York for the price of a journey from London to Edinburgh, from causes similar to those which operate here.

Next morning, drums were beaten at four o'clock in a neighbouring temple, in honour of the deity, the noise also serving as an unwelcome *réveillé* to ourselves. There was

plenty to do in the day, but no need to get up so early. The Governor visited the jail in the morning, discussed with the Doctor and the Superintendent the recent report on its health, and saw carpenters, smiths, potters, weavers, carpet cloth and boot makers, tailors, dyers, washermen, sawyers, wool-spinners, and oil-pressers, all engaged in their several occupations, and looking, for convicts, tolerably contented and comfortable.

The hospital too was not as full as we had expected. The winds, which blow over the feverish hills between the coast and the Central Provinces, are laden apparently with fever germs, and counteract and combat, sometimes only too successfully, the health-giving breezes from the coast. There were only 18 sick in jail, however, out of a population of 530. After the jail, the banks of the river had to be inspected at a point where a retaining wall is considered necessary, and sundry defects in the ferry steamer were investigated from her decks.

A visit was also paid to the girls' school founded by the Maharaja of Vizianagram, but now maintained partly by Government, and partly by the very small fees paid for tuition. These children were, somewhat absurdly, made by their masters to petition for higher education, the continual articulate cry of the masters and the few pupils, as against the inarticulate and real want of the masses.

The excise system, under which a duty is collected upon every gallon of spirits passed into consumption, and which is the only satisfactory method of raising the duty and restricting the consumption, has not yet been introduced into the Godavari district. The effect of the introduction of the excise system in those parts of the Presidency in which it is in force, has been to increase taxation, and to obtain trustworthy statistics of consumption, which were never available under the previously existing farming system. In this district, however, it has been the custom to distil country spirits from toddy, which is furnished by every palmyra and date tree in the country. Speaking generally,

a similar state of things only exists in four districts of the Presidency, and in such, the consumption is believed to have been larger than in the others, the difficulty of regulating it being obviously enormous, when the materials for distillation exist in every tree. For the present it is intended to collect the revenue by a tax upon every tree from which toddy is drawn, to reduce the number of stills, and, by thus concentrating manufacture, to pave the way for the introduction of the excise system into this and the few other districts in which the right of manufacturing spirits is still farmed out.

Next morning, Friday, we passed the headworks of the Eastern Delta, and down the canal to Ellore. The banks are not very high, and on either side we could see a flat country covered with the stubble of reaped crops, and dotted with strawricks. Here and there, a herd of cattle crossing the canal would get entangled in our convoy, but they seemed to go under the boats, or between them and the steam tug, and we believed that we killed and injured not one head of cattle. Between Ellore and the sea, is the Colair Lake, a great depression between the higher deltas of the Kistna and the Godavari, which may yet be filled up in the course of ages by their surplus silt.

At Ellore, the Governor experienced a very enthusiastic reception, this remote town, once the capital of the Northern Circars, being seldom visited by Governors. A chorus of cholera horns on the banks of the canal had a very startling effect, and an extraordinary number of drums were collected.

The address, as usual, expressed gratitude for irrigation received, and for railroads to come, praised his Excellency for investigating the Ganjam famine on the spot in the height of the hot weather, and made sundry requests concerning local matters, all of which were investigated, but none of which need be further referred to here. In reply to an application for another high school, the Governor took the opportunity to commend to the attention of the Municipal Council primary education, as being of far greater

importance, and to urge on their attention the necessity of educating their women. Carpet-making, for which other towns in the south of India are now famed, was originally introduced into Ellore by Persians who came there from the Court of the Mussulman Kings of Golconda, whither they had migrated from Persia. We went to see a carpet being made, and admired the lightning celerity with which the long lean fingers of the manufacturers inserted the warp of many colours between the multitudinous threads of the stationary woof. These carpets sell for sums varying from eight to twelve rupees a yard, according to quality, and are still largely exported to London. The Mussulmans told me that the honour and glory of this manufacture was Persian, that they were poor men, and did not make more than a bare sufficiency by their labour.

We slept in the boats and made next day our last canal journey, from Ellore to Bezwada. This mode of travelling is extremely comfortable. You have a good-sized room in which to read, write, or sleep; you can travel along sidewalks to the bow of your boat, and then jump, probably across the *batterie de cuisine*, into the next boat, where you find an excellent breakfast or luncheon, as the case may be. You can stop the boats and get out and walk under shady avenues whenever you like. In fact, it is a luxurious, but very lazy life. A constant amusement is to watch the native captain, the chief engineer, and the boy of the steam tug. The captain calls out "half a spade" (half speed) or "stap her" (stop her) or "eaz or" (ease her), and the little boy repeats it all in a shrill tenor through the speaking tube to the chief engineer, these nautical terms getting very much modified and altered as they are repeated from mouth to mouth. All the crew are clothed in blue serge, with red handkerchiefs tied round their waists and on their heads, and they look extremely smart.

At midday we could see the low hills through which the Kistna winds to the head of the delta. It is in this hilly country that the Pitt and Regent diamonds were found, and

it is believed that it was here that Sinbad the Sailor saw the Hindus cast lumps of flesh into a valley, which the eagles and vultures might bear back encrusted with diamonds. This myth, as Mr. Mackenzie tells us in his District Manual, has been repeated by Marco Polo in the thirteenth, and Nicolo Conti in the fifteenth, centuries, and it has been supposed that the Hindu custom of sacrificing animals to propitiate malevolent spirits gave rise to the story. The same region abounds in marble. We learnt that the agents of the Deccan Mining Company were examining the ground for diamonds, and the Governor received a petition from some ryots begging that the marble might be removed to places where the people are "much fond of stones" for building.

After luncheon we got out and walked along the shore of the canal, which is flanked by avenues of banyans and groves of gigantic tamarinds. Within six miles of Bezwada we came upon a tom-tom telephone. This is a long succession of drums at intervals of a quarter of a mile. As soon as the Governor's boat appears, the first man strikes a drum, and the next man carries it on, and so it goes from drum to drum, till the sound at last reaches Bezwada. On this occasion, however, one link in the telephone was either deaf or sleepy, and we came upon the Collector before he knew that we were near. As you approach Bezwada, several navigable irrigation canals take off from the main, and just within sight of the town, we turned down the Masulipatam canal to the charming camp in which Mrs. Arundel received the party.

Next morning we all visited the anicut. Bezwada is the head of the Kistna, as Dowlaishweram is the head of the Godavari, delta. In both cases a high alluvial tract stretches away, for a distance varying from 40 to 60 miles, to the sea, but the anicut of the Kistna is situated in a more picturesque and beautiful spot than that of the Godavari. The river here is three quarters of a mile wide, and it passes between two barren conical hills which rise on either side of the stream like abutment piers, from which the great dam takes

off on either side. Water is just now, of course, low in the river, but looking up the stream the effect is that of an immense lake bounded on all sides, except that whence you look, by low picturesque hills. At sunset, when the red light is fading from the sky, these distant hills are hardly distinguishable from low-lying clouds, and the expanse of water before you seems almost illimitable. It is broken, however, at a distance of three quarters of a mile from the dam, by a round little islet, covered with forest, the Innis-fallen, to continue my comparison of the lake. We crossed the river above the anicut, in the steam-tug *Alexandra*, walked a short distance, and then ran along a material line in a trolley to Tadipalle, where the temporary terminus of the Bellary-Kistna State Railway is for the present hung up in a jungle. The Governor hears on all sides complaints on this score. Doubtless there is objection to building a permanent station near the river bank now, when it has not been decided at what point the bridge shall be made; but it must be three or four years before the bridge can be completed, and meanwhile the temporary tin station might as easily be placed near the bank of the river, where produce is unladen, as three miles away. As produce has now to be unshipped and put into carts to get to the station, traders think it just as well to let the carts go on to Guntur, 17 miles, and this they do, whereby the railway loses much business, and gains much abuse. A crowd of traders, that followed us as we walked along, loudly protested. Meanwhile we learnt at the station that they had no goods traffic, but that an average of 150 passengers a day left Bezwada to travel down the line, which at present is open only so far as Cumbum, whence there is a gap of 66 miles to Nandyal, whence again communication is complete with the Madras railway at Guntakal. The Governor was anxious not only that a temporary station should be made on the river bank, but also that if possible a tram line might be continued to a place below the anicut where the ferry boats ply. Paddle boats they are, worked by men and not by steam. Goods

and produce of course necessarily pass the river above the anicut, where the canals on either side take off.

Near the railway station we saw for the first time Singareni coal, which had a dull shaly appearance, and none of the sparkle of Welsh black diamonds.

Over the anicut of Bezwada the Kistna rolls in flood far more rapidly than does its sister stream at Dowlaishweram. Its flood discharge is 761,000 cubic feet per-second, containing enough solid matter to deposit silt of one foot over five square miles. The anicut was chiefly built by Colonel Orr, a lieutenant of Sir Arthur Cotton of Godavari fame, and here, as there, forced labour was largely used. The dam is 1,300 yards in length, and 20 feet above the bed of the stream; 348 miles of navigable, and 800 miles of unnavigable canals distribute its waters, and over these canals goods valued at £740,000 annually pass. The total cost of dam and distribution works is about £834,000, and the number of acres irrigated is 400,000. Here, as in Godavari, a large extent of land belonging to zemindars is irrigated gratis. Such lands are those which obtained water from the river prior to the construction of the new works. They had consequently an equitable claim not to be placed in a worse position than that in which they were before, and, as a matter of fact, they are placed in a much better position. There is consequently a disposition to class as 'ancient customary cultivation' as much irrigated land as possible. His Excellency asked the Superintending Engineer what was the amount of these lands, to which that officer replied that 'the amount of ancient cultivation was annually increasing.' Before going home to breakfast, we drove round the town, and saw various improvements which Mr. Arundel has been carrying out with funds partly supplied by Government and partly by the Municipality, with a view of providing for the future requirements of this important town, which surely has a great future before it.

Arrived at camp, we found the makers of toys and chintzes parading their wares. No muslins, however, were brought

up for inspection. Since the publication of 'Hobson Jobson,' we know that the fabric took its name from Mosul, the modern site of ancient Nineveh, and not from Maisolia or the country about Masulipatam. However, Masulipatam is no longer famous for muslins, and the exports of chintzes and coloured cloths, which still are made, have fallen from £50,000 to £5,000. Such muslins as are now produced are moreover coarse in texture. The trade in chintzes is steady, but owing to their high cost the purely hand-painted cloths are seldom made now. A cheaper description is manufactured; the outlines of the designs being stamped by blocks, and the intermediate colours filled in by hand. I do not know what are the 'best and most delicate buckrams' of which Marco Polo says, 'in-sooth they look like the tissue of a spider's web, there is no king or queen in the world but might be glad to wear them'; but pretty silk handkerchiefs are made at Jaggammamet, where the raw silk is worked up.

Among the exports of this district is one of small importance, which none the less commands attention. 'We often read of halcyon weather, and sometimes, for instance, in 'Marius the Epicurean,' the beautiful tale that hangs thereby, but we seldom hear of halcyon's feather as an article of commerce. None the less are kingfishers destroyed in this district for their plumage, destined, it is believed, to take part in the triumphs of London and Parisian milliners.

On Sunday we rested and went to Church, and in the evening the dew rained very hard in the canal, so that some of us were more or less drenched in the house-boats, which we inhabit just below the tents. Before we could get up, Lord Marsham and I were interviewed from the banks by a woman of Bourbon, who explained in fluent French that she was shipwrecked, and, in short, wanted her passage paid back to the Isle of France.

On Monday morning the Governor received and answered no less than four addresses from the Hindus and Mussulmans of Bezwada, and from the inhabitants of Guntur and

Masulipatam. Speaking within sound of the water rippling over the great Kistna dam, the reader of each address in turn expressed gratitude to the British Government for the construction of that great irrigation work.

The chief subject, however, referred to was railway communication. The inhabitants of the district, who have an earnest and able advocate in Mr. Arundel, urged that a branch of the new East Coast line should be made from Masulipatam to Bezwada, through the rich country of the delta, and from Guntur through the cotton country to meet the Cuddapah-Nellore famine protective line at the last mentioned town. His Excellency in reply urged the necessity of any extension from Bezwada to Madras being broad gauge, in order that eventually a through broad-gauge communication along the coast might be established between Madras and Calcutta. The Kistna bridge, sanction for the commencement of which by a happy accident was communicated at Bezwada, is to be made so as to allow of its carrying a broad-gauge line, and the East Coast Railway thence through the Northern Circars to Cuttack, and by Bengal-Nagpur line to Calcutta, will, it is hoped, be completed upon the same gauge.

Opportunity was taken by the Governor to praise one municipality, and to admonish another. Several engineering questions were raised, which had been considered *in situ*, and were now to stand over till after the visit of the Chief Engineer for Irrigation. His Excellency dwelt upon the great future there was before this town, which already shows signs of great commercial activity, and is being brought up by Mr. Arundel and his assistants, so as to be able to take up the position which it is expected to fill in the world, situated as it is at the head of the rice-producing delta, with a country rich in minerals at its back, and coal, gold, marble and diamonds around it awaiting the successful *exploiteur*. More than this : to the list may be added garnets, agate, iron, mica and chalcedony.

The afternoon was taken up by a reception at which

were present, besides the European officers and zemindars, Mr. Furdonjée Jamshedjee and Mr. Stevens, who came as a deputation from the Minister of Hyderabad on behalf of His Highness the Nizam, to conduct His Excellency to Hyderabad territory, 20 miles up the railway. The levée over, the Governor and Mr. Arundel climbed up a high hill to visit Mr. Harrison, the clergyman, whom His Excellency had known at King's Lynn, and to see Bezwada from a high place. Close to Mr. Harrison's house is an ancient Buddhist cave temple. Lord Marsham, Mr. Wolfe-Murray, and I climbed up the still higher telegraph hill on the left bank of the river, from which the anicut takes off. Half-way up is a temple of Kali, the goddess of evil, before the outer portico of which we were not allowed to pass. The Brahmin priest spoke very apologetically of the slaughter of cocks, of which there was ample evidence on the steps leading to the temple. In the south of the Madras Presidency, you would not, I think, find a Brahmin priest in a Kali temple, or a Brahmin connected with any bloody sacrifice. From the top of the hill you see that all the houses of the town are tiled. This in India is a token at once of prosperity and security. Only comparatively rich people build tiled houses, and in former days a tiled house, which was the exception, was always the one that was chosen to loot. Now-a-days in the Kistna people can not only be rich, but can afford to appear so.

From the top of the hill, telegraph wires start on a long and unsupported journey to the summit of the hill on the other side of the anicut across the river. Besides the telegraph wires a thick cable spans the stream. I know nothing about the theory of strains, or the behaviour of a mile of wire, but when Mr. Wolfe-Murray and I sat upon this cable and tried with all our united strengths to shake it, we failed. After giving up all hope of moving it several minutes later we found that we had produced an impression, for we were nearly shaken off the wire by a violent and irregular vibration, returning, we supposed, from the other side. Descend-

ing the hill we found two religious devotees sitting on the anicut surrounded by an admiring crowd. They were squatting on the ground with their backs against the wall, and singing hymns with immense energy and infinite gesticulation. One was fair and one was dark. The dark man was simple and serious, the fair man was a born comedian, and as he called on the gods in a prolonged breathless rhapsody he seemed quite pleased when we were unable to restrain an occasional laugh, and delighted when all his audience laughed outright. Then we sculled down stream—in the canal, of course—to camp, dined there for the last time, and left it by steamer, to attend a native entertainment before joining the special train in which we were to sleep.

The illuminations in the evening were singularly beautiful. The canal here is not a dull stagnant water-way, but a broad and flowing stream of fresh water 100 yards wide flanked on either side by green banks on which are avenues of trees, whose shade at night made dark and unreflecting two lateral streaks of water-way, and caused the remaining moon-silvered middle streak to appear the brighter by contrast. Turning the corner before the bridge at the anicut is reached, we saw up stream a town of lights hanging over its left bank, and perched in part upon a hill, lighted up in contour behind it. Along the wharves hundreds of barges and house-boats literally 'burnt on the water'; and as you neared the end of the canal, and approached the terminal lock and bridge of the water-way, it seemed that the steam launch entered an aqueous passage roofed with fiery stalactites, which as you approached them more nearly were broken into tremulous sections across the launch's bow. Then as red and blue lights burned, the banks crowded with dense masses of natives were revealed, and now and again the tower of the temple stood out in lurid light against the dark and precipitous hill.

Before leaving Bezwada, it may be as well to briefly notice one or two subjects of public interest connected with the administration. The liquor licensing system resembles,

throughout half the district, that of the Godavari—that is to say, country spirits are distilled from toddy, and arrangements have been made by which a fee will be levied on every palm tree tapped, the privilege of selling such country spirits being sold by auction. In half the district the excise system is in force, and it will be extended during this year over a still larger area. Under this system a distillery is established at Bezwada, and the distiller has the exclusive right of manufacture, and wholesale sale of country spirits which are distilled from coarse sugar. The liquor is taxed before it leaves the distillery, and it must be recorded that it is generally drunk undiluted, as is believed to be the rule with the Indian dram-drinker.

Turning now to the Agricultural Loans Act. In the whole of this large district it has been brought into use in less than a dozen cases. Various reasons are assigned for this abstention, but it is quite sufficient that natives hate the preciseness and punctuality of our arrangements for repayment. They are not peculiar in this respect ; for everywhere a sense of benefit derived from a past loan is apt to be dissipated by the annoyance of present repayment. It is said that the Russian Government by no means gained any popularity with the serfs on whose behalf it carried out the great measure of emancipation.

In the Kistna district the house-tax has been gradually introduced into seventeen village unions, at rates as low as $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ of the maximum. The tax does not appear to have met with much opposition. The Collector reports, regarding self-government in general, that a keen interest is felt in the subject, and that taxes are paid with greater readiness when imposed by the Municipal Council or the District Board, or the local Panchayets, than they would be if imposed by any single official. He observes, however, that the persevering gratuitous work given to such matters in England is wanting here. Mr. Arundel also informed the Governor that the value of the services of midwives attached to the district dispensaries was being recognised

and appreciated, one proof among many of progress in this rapidly advancing district.

We slept in His Highness the Nizam's beautiful and comfortable railway saloons, and after sunrise travelled through scrub jungle of cassia and acacia, and past fields of sorghum and castor-oil, to Kummumett, the capital of the most eastern district of the Nizam's dominions. The villages and the villagers here are just like those of our Telugu country. The houses are thatched, and you do not see the flat mud roofs which are characteristic of other parts of the Deccan. At eleven o'clock we reached Yellandupad, the next station beyond Singareni, from which the mines take their name. Here we were met by Nawab Badr-ud-Dowlah, whose particular business it is, on behalf of the Nizam, to meet on the frontier all distinguished visitors. Here too were Mr. Lowinski, the agent of the Deccan Mining Company, and other officials and *employés* of the mines. Close to the platform was an archway raised on two buttresses of Singareni coal, ornamented with sprigs of yellow-flowering cassia.

It is difficult to travel from British into native territory without speculating and enquiring as to the relative condition of the ryots in either case, and on all occasions there seems much reason to believe that the difference between their economic and social condition is probably very small. An official who has lived on the frontier of several Native States will notice that it hardly occurs to the inhabitants on either side to compare the conditions of British and native rule, and that migrations from one to the other are not very frequent, nor are they all by any means immigrations into British territory. The fact is that it is the condition of the country that determines the condition of the ryot, and he is probably not more taxed on the whole in the native than in the British territory. He may pay a higher land tax, but he does not pay various cesses for the different services of civilisation. In one respect, however—and that the most important—there is a great difference.

The British Government spends a large proportion of its revenues in developing the districts, in making roads, railways, and irrigation works. Thus indirectly, if not directly, its ryots are infinitely better off than those of Native States.

The mines at Singareni are situated in a vast, but not thick, jungle of teak and satinwood. At present there are seven workings, and the output amounts to 400 tons a day. The Governor and his party went down one incline. They work here by inclines and not by shafts, chiefly because the seams are so near the surface. We descended 650 feet to get to a depth of 100 feet, and struck the seam very soon after entering the tunnel. The extraction of coal is comparatively easy and inexpensive, the roof is very good and does not require to be timbered, there is very little water, and the coal is so slightly gaseous that naked lights are used all over the works. The coal is very clean and of extremely good quality, and burns better than that of the Bengal coal-fields. It fetches from Rs. 3/8 to Rs. 6 a ton at the pit's mouth, or rather at the incline head; but the cost of carriage is so enormous that it cannot be sold in Bombay under Rs. 22, and so cannot at present compete there with English coal. It is expected and hoped that the rates will soon be lowered, after which it is anticipated that the expensive and effective machinery will be fully occupied. Just now the direction have to refuse large contracts.

An article in the London *Times* of Friday, December 6th, quotes largely from reports by Mr. William Morgans, kindly furnished to us, who says that the Singareni mines produce an excellent steam coal, hard, and possessed of fairly good qualities for withstanding exposure to weather. Had the coal mines stood alone so as to be under the obligation to pay interest on the £61,000 expended upon their individual needs only, they would at the present moment be paying over 20 per cent., supposing that the expenditure has not exceeded £61,000 and that the output is 400 tons a

day. Even if the latest expenditure on machinery be included, at the present rate of output it is probable that the return from the coal mine is not less than 18 per cent. but this calculation is only given for what it may be worth. As it is, however, the produce of the mines have to provide interest on one million pounds sterling, the whole capital of the Company. The diamondiferous and auriferous regions of the State have, however, yet to be worked, and in regard to gold, at any rate, the Company is very hopeful. Mr. Lowinski, its experienced Agent, is convinced that diamonds will pay. It is reported, however, that the manner and circumstances of the distribution of these precious stones have yet to be ascertained. They have been found quite lately in a formation of a derivative character, and search is being prosecuted for original diamond-bearing strata. Mr. Morgans hazards an interesting conjecture *apropos* of the much discussed question whether the natives exhausted the old works or not before they left them. He discovered unmistakable evidence that in old workings the ancients depended largely on the use of underground fires for loosening the quartz in their drives. He thinks the expense of fuel might have stopped the mines, but on the whole believes that the wars with which the Deccan has been continuously afflicted in times past have chiefly brought about this effect. That is very likely, but probably in the fact that the labourers were seldom paid for their labour lies the most likely explanation. They were driven to work and rigorously searched to see they took nothing away, and had no interest in finding gold or diamonds, in the profits of which they would not participate, and the labour of finding which they alone had, unrequited, to experience. Mr. Morgans found the country between the Kistna and Tungabadra riddled with ancient diggings and superficial mines, and considers these fields to be of the same geological character as, but of far greater extent than, the gold fields of Kolar, whose star apparently is now in the ascendant. Meanwhile the assays of Raichore quartz are said to be encouraging,

while Oregaum crushings are altogether phenomenal. British India generally, and Madras more particularly, cannot but profit by the development of the industrial resources of the Deccan, as Lord Connemara said in answering the Nizam's toast proposing his health. It is somewhat extraordinary how little interest is taken in Southern India in the gold mining and other industries of Mysore and the Deccan, a passing reference to which we may be allowed.

We awoke on New Year's day to find ourselves climbing up the grassy uplands of the Deccan plateau in a frosty misty morning. Three blankets and a sheet were just enough to keep you warm in bed.

At the station at Hyderabad the Resident, Mr. Fitzpatrick, the Minister Nawab Sir Asman Jah, the Amir-i-Kabir Sir Khursheed Jah, the General Commanding the Division, and many other officers and sirdars assembled to meet the Governor, who presently drove off with the Minister through streets lined with troops, Hindu and Mussulmán, Abyssinian and Arab, reformed and unreformed. The morning was spent in receiving visits from His Highness the Nizam and His Excellency the Minister, and in returning the Nizam's visit.

Every one knows Hyderabad, and every one knows that the drive to the palace is very interesting, through Chudderghaut, over the river, the dry bed of which is now cultivated with melons, under the archway, down the long street to the Char Minar, and on down the narrow passage, and into the palace, a quadrangle of pillared halls, surrounding a raised masonry lake of water. In the evening at the banquet the palace looked even better than in the day. The pillared halls were filled with countless lights reflected in glass chandeliers, and the gardens and courtyards were lit up by thousands of oil-tumblers, as also was the long narrow street bounded by two high windowless walls, through which you drive to gain access to the courtyard. The houses and gardens of the Nizam and of the great Hyderabad nobles are of enormous extent and consist

of many squares and quadrangles, all surrounded by high walls. Besides the two squares we saw on either side of the Banqueting Hall, and many others of the like character, there is a park within the precincts of the Char Mahala, in which no less than 200 deer live. Many of the great nobles were present at dinner. In the familiar use of their titles we forget as a rule their meanings, which, however, are full of interest. One is 'the equal of the sun in state, the great noble'; another is 'the best of the nobles'; a third 'the ornament of the peerage'; a fourth 'the light of the State'; a fifth 'its full moon'; and so on. In 'the Benefactor' we recognise a more familiar appellation, and in the 'crown of battle' we discover an old friend.

His Highness the Nizam himself was 'the Director' or 'Administrator' of the country under the Great Moghul, and so enjoys the privilege of possessing a title held by no other Prince or King. Had he been originally an independent Prince and not a Viceroy he would probably have been 'The Shadow of God' like the Shah, or the 'Son of Heaven' like the Emperor of China. After dinner there were fireworks and illuminations. They understand this sort of thing infinitely well at Hyderabad, which certainly is one of the greatest cities for entertainments in the world. Many of the great cities of the East have second names in which their more characteristic features are brought out. For instance, Ispahan is 'half the world,' Shiraz is 'the seat of learning,' Bagdad is 'the abode of (heavenly) peace,' and Hyderabad should be Dar-ul-Ziyafat, the city of entertainments. The best illuminations are produced by the simplest means, and nothing equals the mudpie and earthen saucer system, whereby at the installation of the present Nizam, the road and the prominent features of the landscape, on either side of it, were marked out for many miles in little lights, producing an extremely beautiful effect. Just now the oil-tumbler process appears to be in greater favour, but it is not nearly so effective.

Next morning we rode with Nawab Afsar Jung, the

Commander of the Golconda Brigade, to that ancient fortress where within an outer wall, seven miles in extent, six other lines of fortifications succeed one another, the last forming the citadel, which crowns the low rocky hill in the centre of the fortified post. A garrison of 5,000 troops still occupies Golconda ; but while the art of war is encouraged, the arts of peace are not neglected, and Nawab Afsar Jung has introduced the manufacture of shawls, with the aid of instructors imported from Cashmere. His little son, aged 10 years, rode a big horse at good hard gallop from Hyderabad to Golconda and back, and also acted as galloper to his father whenever any messages had to be carried, or there was any duty to be done. He rides wonderfully well, and promises to be as good a horseman, if possible, as his father. Most of the Mussulman nobles of the Nizam's Court are accomplished horsemen, and few of them are more at home in the saddle than His Highness himself.

The newspapers to-day bring Mr. Bradlaugh's Congress speech, and this recalls the fact that the people of Ellore, who informed the Governor that they took no interest in politics, have according to the *Hindu* decreed an address and a casket to the 'Member for India,' just as in another town visited during this tour a member of the Municipality, who did not agree with his colleagues, desired to present an address on behalf of a 'sabha' or assembly. These sabhas are generally local congress agencies, and very often consist of the founder himself, assisted by one or two of his friends. A not unusual combination is a schoolmaster with his assistants and a few boys. Of course there are sabhas, which doubtless are much more representative institutions. Meanwhile those who are interested in the congress will be interested in sidelights upon its constitution, and these must be sought outside of large towns.

Owing to indisposition, Lord Connemara unfortunately was not able to take part in the many entertainments which were held, or proposed to be held, in his honour. Among these was a morning's sport in His Highness the Nizam's

preserves at Srinagar, where a most enjoyable morning can be spent, shooting black buck in an undulating rocky country, affording good cover to the stalker. Breakfast with the Nawab Vicar-ul-Omrah in his splendid new palace of Falaknumah was also an entertainment His Excellency had to forego. This immense edifice is situated on the top of a rocky hill, whence you obtain a magnificent view of the Mir Alam tank on your left, and of the fortress of Golconda beyond it. Before the palace and below it spreads the city of Hyderabad like one huge garden whence minarets and palaces emerge at intervals. Beyond, in the distance, the blue waters of the Hoosain Saugor tank are just visible, and beyond that again the rocky hillocks of Secunderabad, the barracks of Trimulgherry, and the gleaming walls of distant Bolarum. On the right is another lake, and beyond it the preserves of Srinagar. This view is one of great beauty, and the undulating plain, broken by little hills and big boulders, is covered as far as the eye can range with the Hyderabad of the present, and the ruins and remains of Golconda and its suburbs of the past.

A curious feature of the Vicar-ul-Omrah's breakfast recalled the four-and-twenty blackbirds that were baked in a pie, of which we have all read in our childhood. Some rather, but not suspiciously, large cakes were handed round, and as they were opened a little amaduvad or wax-bill flew chirping out of each, alighted on the flowers and shrubs with which the table was covered, or flew about the ceiling and room. As there were sixty guests, no less than five dozen birds suddenly appeared and began to sing, when the pies were opened.

The Governor obtained leave from the Minister to bring down to Madras for a while two modellers, to teach their craft to a class in the School of Arts. These men are descendants of some pupils of an Italian, who came long ago to Lucknow, to decorate the palace of the King. They are extremely clever, but the art is said to be dying out in Northern India, and has yet to be introduced into the South.

* Lord Connemara's visit to Hyderabad concluded with calls upon His Highness the Nizam and the Resident, and on the evening of the 4th January we regretfully left the capital of the Deccan, and after crossing the Tungabadra found ourselves once more in Madras territories, where a Collector was waiting for His Excellency with representations concerning the approaching settlement of his district.

The chief features of the present tour were irrigation, railway communications, and a consideration of the future wants of the Kistna district: the most urgent requirements of which are the East Coast Railway, with its proposed feeder lines from Bezwada to Masulipatam and to Guntur and Nellore, the early construction of the Kistna bridge, and immediate provision for the requirements of traffic pending its construction. Fortunately Lord Connemara had an opportunity of speaking to Colonel Firebrace on this subject at Hyderabad, where the Consulting Engineers to the Governments of Bombay and of Madras were present during his stay. The Singareni coal mines and the traffic of His Highness the Nizam's State Railway are most important factors in the future of the Kistna district, and a return journey through Hyderabad—the most direct route from Singareni to Madras—also afforded an opportunity of accepting the invitation of His Highness the Nizam to spend a few days at his capital. Many official matters of importance were naturally considered and gone into during the tour. Indeed the number of such matters was extremely large, but all are dealt with in the Governor's official minute, and would unduly prolong this unofficial narrative.

We travelled in all 1,370 miles—upwards of 300 by sea, upwards of 700 by rail, and upwards of 200 by river and canal. The canal travelling was an agreeable novelty, and a most comfortable shipwreck merely added zest to our adventures.

J. D. REES.

LEPER IN INDIA.

“Where a plague becomes endemic, there the sanitary laws have been neglected.”—MENANDER.

THE observations I here propose to offer with reference to the efforts being made by the Government, and by wealthy philanthropists like Sir Dinshaw Manockji Petit of Bombay, to regulate and, if possible, check the plague of leper in India, will not be in the least influenced by the recent discreditable scare in this country of a possible recurrence of the spread of the disease westward from Asia into Europe, nor by the more justifiable popular enthusiasm aroused by the humanising example of Father Damien's self-sacrificing life at Molokai. In neither of its two forms [*Lepra maculosa*, and *Lepra tuberculosa*, seu *nodosa*, i.e., “Elephantiasis”^{*}] is true leper [*Lepra Arabum*] really infectious; or if it be contagious, which I altogether disbelieve, its contagion is extremely sluggish, and operative only under telluric, atmospheric, and other external conditions predisposing to its independent development. Even when the disease has established itself, its progress has to be measured by years; and in its earlier stages it may lie latent throughout a lifetime.

Among Anglo-Indians I know of a leprous husband whose wife has never shown a symptom of the taint; and also of a leprous couple, whose two grown-up, and remarkably beautiful daughters are perfectly free from all trace of it. Again, in the case of a great personal friend of my own, the disease, since first making its appearance on him

^{*} Familiar to English people, in its most observable phase, under the names of “Barbadoes Leg,” and “Cochin Leg.”

eighteen or twenty years ago, has never advanced beyond a slightly pallid, and benumbed, narrowly localised spot, and a concomitant numbness of the nervous system, marked most prominently by the complete quelling of the extreme energy of both mind and body my friend was distinguished by when I first made his acquaintance thirty-five years ago. In England his symptoms remain in absolute abeyance, and only when he is in India do they show the slightest tendency to excitation. If Father Damien's leper was not spontaneously generated, but was indeed derived from the leperds he nursed, a thing antecedently incredible to anyone familiar with the disease in India, then its introduction into his system was most probably owing to some entirely accidental circumstance, such as his direct intoxication with it through a cut or abrasion of the skin. But a similar misadventure is not likely to happen a second time. I once had to drink a cup of lemon sherbet prepared under my eyes by a leperd ; but I never for a moment apprehended any danger from the draught, or, most assuredly, I should not have taken it, or not simply, as I did in this instance, out of polite consideration for the feelings of my Mahomedan host.

As for the horror of leperds that has been revived by the recent sensational treatment of the subject by a section of the English press, nothing could be more ignorant, needless, and unfortunate. The true panacea of medical science is the light and life that flows in upon the sick from the sympathy of others, and the consciousness enforced on the leprous of being shunned by everyone is the darkest feature of their fatal affliction. Yet contact with syphilis and cancer is just as offensive, and, as regards the former, infinitely more hazardous.

The English public has indeed never fully realised how widely syphilis may be diffused through every conceivable accident of casual contact, notwithstanding that the history of its advent and progress, both in India and Europe, is full of significance on the point. In its dangerous

modern forms it was unknown to the ancients, probably on account of personal cleanliness having formed an essential part of godliness equally among the Hebrews and the pagan Egyptians, Assyrians and Babylonians, Phœnicians, and Greeks and Romans. On the other hand, the people of mediæval Christendom had sunk into so desperate a condition of personal and domestic defilement, that this swinish disease might, at any time, have been spontaneously developed among them. Actually its virus was imported from the New World by the sailors Columbus brought back with him from the West Indies in 1493. It broke out with great virulence in the French army [whence its unfair designation of "*lues Gallica*"*] commanded by Charles VIII., at the siege of Naples in 1495, and from this point was disseminated throughout Europe within twenty-five years, carrying off, among its first great victims, both Leo X., and the contemporary Grand Duke of Moscow. It was absolutely unknown in India, owing, it may be premised, to the constant ceremonial ablutions of the Hindus, before the arrival of Da Gama's ships at Calicut, in 1498. But within a few months of his sailors landing there, the Zamorin became contaminated with it through his zenana; and within seventeen years from its first apparition on the Malabar coast, it had spread like wild-fire all over India, to the utmost recesses of the Himalayas, which have ever since remained the seats of its most envenomed types. Everywhere in India it is still known by the name of *Firinghee rogan*, the "Frankish [specifically "the Portuguese"] pest."† It is quite impossible that this

* The French themselves at first designated it *mal de Naples*; while the Portuguese, according to Colin [1619], called it *ronge d'Espagne*.

† In Cashmere it is named *gurmi-Firanj* ["the Frankish heat"]; in Persia *nar-i-Firangi* ["the Frankish fire"], and also, more honestly, *nar-i-Farsi*; in Arabia *woja-ul-Ifirangi*; and in Turkey *Frenk samiti*. It is deeply interesting to note also that "China Root" [obtained from *Smilax China* of China and *S. glabra* and *S. lanceifolia* of India], the use of which in syphilis was introduced into Southern India, in the 16th century, by the Portuguese, from Malacca, where it had been brought to

contagious disorder could have overrun Europe and Asia with such fatal swiftness, except its pollution had been communicable by every kind of direct contact. The prevailing libertinism of the time in Europe is insufficient to account for its universal diffusion, from the two initial points of [Cadiz-cum-] Naples and Calicut, within the twenty-five years from 1493-5 to 1515-21. It spread faster from Calicut than even from Naples ; and it certainly was not helped forward in India by any abnormal exacerbation of immorality among the Hindus and Mahomedans of the sixteenth century.

As for the imputed contagiousness of leper, there are, in Western India at least, very few households, including the family and its retainers and clients, without a more or less leprous person among their number,* and yet never in my memory was an instance noted of leper being communicated by such an one to any of his daily and hourly associates. I was familiar, in the special practice of my friend, the late eminent Hindu physician, Dr. Bhau Daji, with many cases of initial leper, but there was never, so far as I remember, any suspicion of their having originated in *leprous* contagion. I could also name a large Indian city, where the clerk-in-charge of the public library, who for years past has been daily circulating newspapers and books to hundreds of readers, is covered all over his hands and arms and face with blotchy leprosy ; but never have any of the subscribers to the library been known to suffer from it. Would this be possible were the distemper that which prematurely throttled the Zamorin

their notice by the Chinese traders at that port as a substitute for "Sarsaparilla" [*S. officinalis* of America], bears among the Telegus the names of *Paranghee* ["Frankish"] *chakka*, and *Gali* ["French"] *chukka*, while by the *Telegus* it is called simply *Poringay*, i.e., *Paranghee* [the "Frankish" remedy]. The Chinese had always known it, as the people of India had "Cubebs" [the berries of *Cubeba officinalis* of Java], as an aphrodisiac. "Cubebis in vino maceratis utuntur Indi Orientales ad Venerem excitandem, et Surax Radice Africana. Chinæ Radix eosdem effectus habet." [Garcias ab Horto Aromatum Hist. i. 28.]

of Calicut, and two hundred and fifty years later hurried Ahmad Shah Durani to his grave under the burden of indescribable bodily and mental tortures? The irrational and sinful dread of leperds felt by the ignorant and selfish patrons of philanthropy in England is indeed very largely superstitious, being an unconscious heritage from the belief still held over all Western and Southern Asia, that these poor hopeless creatures must have been guilty, in themselves or through their ancestors, of some heinous offence against the Deity. Thus in Numbers xii., the leprous affection of Miriam is attributed to "the anger of the Lord," on account of her sedition against Moses.

Among all the Semites it was the Sun-God the leperd was supposed to have offended. In India, of the post-Puranic period, it is the Snake-God. This is why every Hindu leperd is a worshipper of the Snake-God. Yet note that one of the ceremonies particularly observed by Indian leperds is every month to entertain a number of young unmarried men and women at dinner. The superstition is thought in India to be supported by certain texts of the "Code of Manu" (iii. 161 and xi. 51), as it is certainly sustained in this country by the severity of the Levitical regulations* [Leviticus xiii.] against the cutaneous eruptions, or rather class of cutaneous eruptions, the Hebrew name of which is translated in the English "Authorised Version" of the Bible by the words "leper" [*i.e.*, *lepra*, "scaly"] and "leprosy."† But although the native Egyptian tradition, according to Manetho, but scouted by Josephus [Antiq. iii., xi., 4], was that the Hebrews were expelled from the land of Goshen on account of the

* In France, leperds were for centuries treated as religious heretics, and were actually hunted down and burnt at the stake in the fourteenth century. The first edict for their relief was published in 1612, and it was not until 1664 that they were placed under the Order of St. Lazarus.

† Lepry is another English form of the word. See Skinner's *Etymologicon*, London, 1671.

prévalence among them of true leper, from time immemorial endemic in the Delta of the Nile, it is quite uncertain whether the compilers of the Pentateuch had true leper exclusively in view in the regulations directed against the disease they designate *saraath*. Certainly the "leprosy" ["*Lepra Mosaica*"] of Moses, Miriam, Naaman, and Gehazi was not true leper, or it would not have been curable as in the first three of them, nor transferable as in the case of the last [Gehazi]. A similar uncertainty exists as to the disease referred to in the "Code of Manu" [iii. 161 and ix. 51] under the name of *swaitrya*, i.e. "whiteness." It clearly does not include "Elephantiasis"* [*Lepra tuberculosa*]; and whether the whiteness of skin characterising it was due to true blotchy leper, or to some common cutaneous eruption, cannot now be determined. Herodotus, writing of the ancient Persians, describes two kinds of lepra [i. 139,] as prevailing among them, namely *lepra* and *leuke*. The former was probably some ordinary scaly eruption on the skin, and the latter possibly blotchy leper. The *whiteness* in both forms of the disease, and not its malignancy in the latter form, marked the vengeance of the Gods.

* Elephantiasis is nowhere mentioned in the Code of Manu. It is true that among the diseases which prevent those afflicted with them participating in the worship of the Lares and Penates one designated [iii., 165] *slipada*, literally "stone-foot" is enumerated, and that this word has been translated by "elephantiasis"; but it really means "club-foot," and is so translated by all Sanskritists of authority. The true Sanskrit name for elephantiasis is *hasti-pada*, or *gaga-pada*, literally "elephant's-foot," a direct translation of its Arabic name; and this Sanskrit name for leper does not appear in the medical or general literature of the Hindus until after the first century A.D. The Sanskrit word in the Mahabarata we translate "leprosy," is *kushtha*; and the presumption that it means true leprosy is so far supported by the fact that the modern *Tamil* name for blotchy leper, *kustum*, that the Javanese name for both blotchy and nodular leper, *kudig*, and the Malayan names for them, *kudal* and *untal*, are all four corrupted from the Sanskrit word *kushtha*. This word is also the Sanskrit name of the drug *Costus*, the *white* root of the *Aucklandia Costus* [*Saussurea auriculata*] of Cashmere, which, in accordance with the popular doctrine of "signatures," is throughout India a famed vernacular remedy for every kind of scaly, scabby, sanious and ulcerated skin disease.

In the "Code of Manu," "*white*-[leprosy]" is the punishment for stealing *clothes*, that is *white* cotton cloths ; and it was meted out for this offence evidently in accordance with ideas similar to those that suggested the doctrines of "signatures" in ancient and mediæval therapeutics. Thus "lameness" is the punishment, according to the "Code of Manu," for "horse-stealing," "blindness" for "stealing a lamp," "foul-breath" for "calumniating," "diseased nails" for "stealing gold from a Brahman," "dumbness" for "plagiarism," "dyspepsia" for "stealing cooked food," and "redundant limbs" for the fraudulent "adulteration of grain" down to the five per cent. standard of refraction until recently maintained by the London Corn Trade Association.

Again, if persons stricken with "*white*-[leprosy]" are excluded, by the "Code of Manu," from participating in the sacrifices offered to the ancestral manes, so are actors, singers, dancers, gamblers—in short, all "sporting and dramatic" characters,—as also engineers, architects, doctors, and instructors in the Vedas *for a fee*.

"Donum Dei non donatur
Nisi gratis conferatur,
*Quod qui vendit vel mercatur,
Lepra Syri vulneratur.*"

The references in the "Code of Manu" to "*white*-[leprosy]" are less diagnostic, therefore, than even the description of *saraath* in Leviticus xiii., and they in no way uphold the ghostly awe of leper in India, where it is to be directly attributed to the later legends of the mediæval Puranas.*

* The *Bawishya Purana*, which is of very late date, is most instructive on the point. Unfortunately it has never been printed in the original Sanskrit, and I cannot therefore give the Sanskrit name of the disease of eight varieties, assumed by Colebrooke, in a well-known passage of the Digest [iii., 309], to be true leper, and certain of the varieties of which certainly are true leper. These eight varieties are, according to the translation :—1, "blisters on the feet"; 2, "a deformity of the generative organs," the reference probably being to the satyriacal form of "elephantiasis"; 3, "cutaneous fissures"; 4, "elephantiasis"; 5, "ulcers";

There are, in short, only two indisputable proofs of the identity of the modern forms of leper with the mediæval and antique. The first is Holbein's picture [1516] at Augsburg, of St. Elizabeth feeding leperds, who here present exactly such illustrations of the disease as one observes in India in the direfullest examples of it, combining both blotchy and tubercular leper. The second proof is afforded by the Greek and Latin names—*elephantiasis*, *elephantis*, and *elephas*—given to the tubercular form of leper. We never shall be able to tell what the ancients exactly meant by *lepra*, beyond that it was a foully furfuraceous cutaneous excrustation of some sort or other, nor by *leuke*. But there is no mistaking the meaning of the terms *elephas* and *elephantiasis*, as descriptive of the similitude the soft, elastic human skin assumes, under the tubercular variety of true leper, to the hard, nodular hide of the pachydermatous elephant.*

This type of leper, however, was not known in Europe before the 1st century B.C., and Lucretius is the first to

6, "coppery blotches" [*Lepra maculosa*]; 7, "black leprosy" [? "*Lepra Græcorum*," i.e., "of the highest degree of scabbedness or a universal canker of the whole body" of old writers]; and 8, "white leprosy" [*"Lepra Mosaica"*]. Of these only 4 and 6 are certainly forms of true leper, and 6 may be "Satyriasis." But the *Bawishya Purana* distinctly states that *the worst of all is the eighth*, "white leprosy," and simply because it is the stigma of the sins of the sufferer or of his ancestors. According to the Puranic ordinances leper excludes not only from the domestic sacrifices, but from the inheritance of property: but distinctly not on account of the disease itself, and only because of the inward invisible offence against the gods of which it is supposed to be the outward and visible sign; for if the sin be repented of the right to inherit is restored to the leperd, although his leper remain,—as it must in case of true leper; whereas, if the sin be unrepented of, although the disease may be cured,—as might happen in the case of one of the non-malignant cutaneous eruptions grouped by classical Arabic and Sanskrit writers under the generic term we translate by "leprosy"—then the bar to inheritance continues to operate, even against the sinner's heirs, and that although they be adopted heirs.

* In Abraham Fleming's *Nomenclator*, "imprinted at London for Ralph Newberie and Henrie Denham, 1585," "the leprosie" is defined as "a disease that maketh the 'skin rough and coloured like an Elephant's skinne, with blacke wannish spots, and dry parched scales and scurfe."

mention it, B.C. 50; and he distinctly says [vi., 1112-3]: "There is the Elephant disease, which is generated beside the streams [Delta] of the Nile, in the midst of Egypt, and nowhere else."

"Est Elephas morbus qui propter flumina Nili
Gignitur, Ægypto in media, neque preterea usquam."

After him comes Pliny, A.D. 79, who [xxvi., 5] tells us that "Elephantiasis" was unknown in Italy before the time of Ptolemy, and came originally from Egypt; and the contemporary Greek writer Aritæus, who names it both *elephas* and *elephantiasis*.^{*} Next the mathematician Firmicus, A.D. 340, describes one afflicted with elephant disease as "elephantiacus" and "elephanticus"; and Isidorus, the grammarian, A.D. 674, names it "elephanticus morbus." It became endemic in Italy during the 7th century A.D., and in Germany and France in the 8th century, and in England in the 10th. It came into Italy through Syria and Asia Proconsularis, and was probably known on the Phœnician coast of Syria as early as in the Delta of the Nile. The terror of the Elephantiasis of Tyre survived in the mediæval phrase "Lepra Syri"; that is, of Sour or Tyre, the Sarranus of Columella [ix., 4, 4 and x., 287] and Virgil [Geo. ii., 506], and Sarra of Plautus [Truc. ii., 2]. In any case, just as we find that in India and in Norway leper in both its kinds is apparently propagated by eating half-putrid salted fish, so we learn that the Syrians objected to an exclusive fish diet, as causing swellings and ulcerations of the limbs,[†] and propitiated their goddess Atargatis [Der-ceto], a form of

^{*} Also, Ἡράκλειον πάθος, this nomenclature referring, I suppose, to the myth of the robe of Nessus; in which case it would seem to indicate a belief in Aritæus of the contagiousness of leper.

[†] Carew, in his *Survey of Cornwall*, published in the reign of James I., attributes leper to "the disorderly eating of sea-fish *newly taken*, and principally the liveer of them, not well prepared, soused, pickled, or condited."

Aphrodite, by offerings of representations of fishes in metal. Thus Ovid [*Fasti*, ii., 473] sings :—

“ Hence, Syrians hate to eat that kind of fishes ;
Nor is it fit to make their gods their dishes.”

“ *Inde nefas ducunt genus hoc imponere mensis
Nec violant timidi piscibus ora Syri.*”

It is this “ elephant disease ” that is the scourge of India ; and, probably, it was during the great growth of ancient commerce, from the 6th century B.C. to the 6th century A.D., that the agonising malady was gradually introduced among the littoral nations of the Indian peninsula, and along the shores of the Indian Ocean generally, from its aboriginal habitat in the Delta of the Nile, and the narrow Phœnician coast shut in between the Mediterranean Sea and the Lebanon mountains, in the same manner as it was almost synchronously introduced from Egypt and Syria into Greece and Italy.

In India it prevails chiefly among the Hindus, and affects the males among them in far larger proportion than the females. All the cases of Hindus that came under my observation in Dr. Bhau Dajis' practice were from the estuaries of rivers, as is so much the case with cancer in this country, and they were invariably associated with a diet largely made up of pickles of all kinds and candied preserves.

The disease has, to all outward seeming, considerably increased since the British occupation of the country, and that notwithstanding the improved sanitary conditions introduced under our administration. But this is probably merely a sort of ocular delusion, resulting from our interference with the orthodox native method of dealing with the visitation, so soon as its true character is manifested, and there is no longer any hope of its yielding to medicinal or sacramental treatment. The divine curse on a family that elephantiasis is believed by the Hindus to betoken can be removed only by the

immolation, or the suffocation in some sacred stream or tank, of its victim, or by burying him in a newly dug grave. But under the British rule this is either suicide or murder, and cannot possibly be done on any enlarged and properly prophylactic scale.

Some years ago in the Punjab, as Sir Mountstuart E. Grant-Duff has related, the father of a family, having been laid low with leper, was for some time most carefully nursed by his two sons, the only surviving members of his household. Nothing could exceed the tenderness and self-denial of their care of him ; but as the disease advanced and became hopeless he insisted on being taken to be drowned in the neighbouring river, and, after much resistance, the dutiful youths at last consented to do their father's bidding, and bore him away to the purifying stream, and laid him beside it, and reverently and affectionately held him down in it until he was dead. But they were at once put upon their trial for murder, and convicted and condemned to be hanged. Fortunately the sentence came under the review of Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I. [afterward Lord Lytton's Foreign Secretary], who rightly understood the people and their conduct, and, by a merciful perversion of the English law on the matter, determined their crime to be one of abetting suicide, and not murder, and thus got the young men off with a nominal punishment. In another case, mentioned to me by Mr. Thornton himself, the father of a family, finding that he was irremediably leprous, built up his own funeral-pyre, and calling his household together, read to them from its summit the *Shastras* commanding him to expiate the curse that through his sins had been brought upon them, and then set fire to the pile, and perished in the flames. The living burial of leperds was at one time, Mr. Thornton tells me, widely practised in the Punjab. But this high stoical fashion of dealing with the outcasts of a cruel disease, and yet more cruel superstition, we have abolished ; and with the natural consequence that leperds have greatly increased in apparent numbers, until now they are to be seen everywhere in India,

' This is not becoming under any circumstances, and might in certain conditions prove a source of considerable danger ; for although in its ordinary endemic phase leper is not actively contagious, there is no saying, now that it has become so widely distributed in India, whether at any moment it might not pass into an epidemic phase, as when Europe was decimated by it in the Middle Ages. Then it came in with the Crusaders returning from the Holy Land, just as it had previously come into Italy with the soldiers of Pompey returning from Syria and Asia Minor ; and now once more it seems to be finding its way westward in the wake of our English Eastern commerce ; especially since a direct passage for the trade of the Indian Ocean was opened into the Mediterranean Sea through the Suez Canal. An unavoidable and heavy, if not pressing, responsibility is, therefore, laid upon the Government of India to take the necessary, simple, and highly efficacious measures, dictated as well by modern science as by the experience of this and other European countries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for its suppression. The many questions of scientific interest to be investigated in connection with it may never receive a completely satisfactory solution ; but the practical points are that leper can be extirpated by the segregated isolation of the leprous, and can be prevented reappearing spontaneously in a country from which it has once been eradicated, by the amelioration of the sanitary conditions of its inhabitants, particularly as affecting their food.

This is sufficiently proved by the whole history of leper in modern Europe. It was by these means that the plague was stayed in England, where at one time there was a Lazar House [Lazaretto] in every one of our larger towns. Here in London one was built by William Pole, yeoman to Edward IV., on the site of the present Smallpox Hospital in Whittington Place,* Salisbury Road, at the foot of Highgate

* Removed from King's Cross in 1860, to make room for the Great Northern Railway Station.

Hill, as you proceed northward out of Holloway. It was dedicated to St. Anthony, but was always known as "the Lazar House at Holloway." Early in the fifteenth century another was established at Kingsland, near the south-eastern corner of the road leading to Ball's Pond, where the turnpike-gate was afterwards put up. It was called "Le Lokes," that is, "the Enclosed," "the Guarded," "the Locked," a name still borne by "the Lock Hospital" at Paddington. After the Reformation it was annexed to St. Bartholomew's Hospital. There used to be "a Loke for lepers" also in Kent Street, in the Borough, and one was formerly attached to Trinity Chapel, Knightsbridge; and another stood on the north side of the so-called "Green" in front of Tattersall's. Earlier than any of these was the ancient hospital for "maiden lepers," now represented by St. James's Palace; and the hospital in the parish of St. Giles's, founded in 1118 by Queen Matilda, as "a cell," to the larger institution at Burton Lazars in Leicestershire. St. James's, St. Giles's, and Burton Lazars, in Leicestershire, were the three oldest houses for leperds in England. The Lizard Point in Cornwall and Lezardieux* in Brittany are both said to take their names from the leper-houses, dedicated to St. Lazarus, that once stood in these isolated spots. Altogether over a hundred hospitals once existed in England for the segregation of leperds; and by the writ of "Leproso amovendo" the authorities of a parish could at any time be compelled to remove leprous persons to the nearest of them. By pursuing this treatment leper began at last in the fifteenth century to decline all over Europe, and it was practically extinguished by the eighteenth century, although it was not

* Compare the French word *ladrerie* for leper or leprosy, formed from the name of St. Lazarus, the patron saint of leperds, who still is called St. Ladre over all the north of France. "Lazar" for leper is formed, through the French *lazare*, Latin *Lazarus*, Greek *Λάζαρος*, from the Hebrew *Eleazar*, i.e., *El-azar*, "God-helped." "Lazzaroni," formed from the Italian *lazzarino*, a "leper," is the descriptive term applied by the Spanish viceroys to the rabble of Naples.

until 1741 that the last leperd died in Scotland in the Shetlands,* while the last recorded case in Ireland occurred at Waterford so late as 1775.

The gradual introduction in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of the use of fresh instead of potted meats in winter, and of pot-herbs and salads as articles of daily diet during the summer months of the year, as also the substitution of constant changes of clean linen and cotton underclothing for flannel—worn until it fell from the body in filthy rags—further contributed to the extinction of leper from Europe. The history of the disease in Norway during the last thirty years has been to the same general effect.

But if the attempt to drive leper out of India is to be entirely successful, it will probably be found necessary to aim simultaneously at the expulsion also of syphilis. Without ever being able to demonstrate it, Dr. Bhau Daji always suspected the existence of some obscure connection between them. Of course, when whole populations are saturated with syphilis, as is the case in many parts of Western and Southern India, there is a general lowering of their vitality, that of itself intensifies the vitiated conditions favourable, where the constitutional predisposition already exists, to the development of leper. But this is not what Dr. Bhau Daji had in view. He was possessed by the idea of a far closer relation between the two diseases, and seemed to consider that where there was a tendency to leper, its actual manifestation, particularly in instances of unusual and otherwise unaccountable aggravation, was often due to the stimulus communicated to the system by the introduction into it of the specific virus of syphilis. In the Himalayan valleys the two diseases are certainly very remarkably associated, if in no ways interdependent, in their baneful activity. It is further note-

* Dr. Edmonston is said to have met with a dubious case in Edinburgh in 1809. The noblest of Scotch victims to leprosy was, of course, Robert the Bruce.

worthy that they are not distinguished from each other by the natives of Ceylon, and are indiscriminately named by them *Paranghee*, here emphatically "the Portuguese" pest. "Post voluptatem misericordia" was the inscription borne on one of the old London Lazar-houses. Possibly it merely reflected, in proverbial phrase, the old religious prejudice against lepers as sinners above all men, but it does also seem to indicate a popularly recognised sequence of cause and effect between a sensual life and leper, and it undoubtedly suggests that the disorder may, from the earliest times, in its more serious forms, have had at least one of its origins in some independently developed Old World contaminations cognate with the syphilis of America. I am not entitled to publicly express an opinion of my own on a medical question of this sort, my self-gained knowledge of leper having regard only to the history of its geographical propagation,* and that chiefly on account of the indirect light it throws on the history of the decorative arts of India. But I naturally took a keen professional interest also in Dr. Bhau Daji's speculations on the point, and the tentative hypothesis I early formulated with reference to it was that syphilis, and, aboriginally, leper, were respectively active American and passive Ethiopian types of a protean disease that tends to generate itself wherever bodily cleanliness, particularly in respect of the things dealt with in Leviticus xv. and similar passages of the Code of Manu, and the Shayast La-shayast of the Parsis, is habitually neglected.†

This is obviously a very difficult question, but nevertheless it demands deliberate and circumstantial consideration. Leper can certainly be stamped out, and syphilis itself is beginning to show unmistakeable signs of obsolescence, and that not merely in consequence of the improved sanitary conditions of the world, but from the gradual

* Gained in independently following the lines of enquiry indicated by the late Sir James Y. Simpson in the *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*, vol. lv.

† Compare Ovid, A: A: II., 329-30.

exhaustion of its inherent hurtfulness. If then for no other reason than this, that "a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull all together" would probably within two generations make a lasting end of syphilis, and, apart altogether from any hypothesis of its possible alligation with local forms of leper, it would appear most desirable to combine with the efforts directed against the latter, a regularly organised endeavour for the complete extinction of the former obscene disease within, at least, the limits of British India. It was inflicted on India by the first nation of Christendom that adventured into the pagan East; and if, as may reasonably be suspected, its presence there serves to intensify the vernacular leper, it has indeed been twice accursed to the country, where, so long as it is allowed to prevail, it will remain the shamefulest of stigmas on the Christian civilisation of the West. I feel strongly, therefore, that, if we are to succeed in the present movement for the alleviation of leper in India, we must, and all the more unhesitatingly, in view of the humiliating history of syphilis in that country, combine the religious obligations of penitence and reparation with the burden and the glory of a great imperial and international work of duty and mercy.*

GEORGE BIRDWOOD.

* The native Christians, by the way, of St. Thomé [Maliapur], near Madras, regard the local leperds as descendants of the murderers of St. Thomas.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

THE most important event of recent years is the retirement of Prince Bismarck from the post which he has occupied during the whole of the eventful generation that witnessed the making of the new German Empire; and although it may appear that it has no close connection with the position of affairs in Asia, some further reflection may induce a reconsideration of such a hasty opinion. In the first place, the removal of the master-mind and the firm hand which exercised so effective if unfelt a control over the European Cabinets in the relations of the Great Powers cannot but arouse misgivings as to the continuance of international harmony. Much of the stability and success of the Triple Alliance arose from the prestige of Bismarck and from the conviction that his plans were so well laid that they could not but attain their object. With Bismarck no longer at the helm there is some risk that both at Rome and Vienna there may be a change of sentiment, caused, not so much by the estrangement of Italian and Austrian sympathy as by the spreading of a belief that the views and objects of Berlin policy are no longer what they were. In the course of a little time we shall have some tangible facts to go upon, and we can then substitute certainty for conjecture; but in the meantime it is idle to pretend that Prince Bismarck's resignation is not a great blow to public confidence, and that it will not make thoughtful persons more anxious as to the maintenance of peace.

There is one point, however, on which public opinion may go astray in coming to the conclusion that the affairs of Germany will be conducted with less ability than under the great Chancellor. There can be no doubt that, although

Caprivi occupies the position of Chancellor, the young Emperor himself will be the director of the ship of state, and thus in a brief space of time, and with unexpected effect, the reputed saying of Bismarck on the death of the Emperor Frederick, that the Emperor William II. would be his own Reichskanzler, has been verified. Under those circumstances it becomes a matter of the greatest importance to ascertain, as far as such an inquiry is possible, what are the capacity and character of the German Emperor. There need be no hesitation in saying that he is probably one of the ablest and most energetic princes who have sat upon a European throne for several generations. In more than one respect he resembles his famous ancestor, the Great Frederick, and it is believed that he makes it his study to imitate his policy and emulate his achievements. He has already shown marked originality and has disappointed many confident predictions. It was said that within six months of his accession Europe would be embroiled in a general war. Two years have elapsed, and European peace seems as firmly established as it could be. He became emperor with the reputation of being as much opposed to liberal ideas as he was a pronounced fire-eater—yet he has initiated a measure which will give the practical relief to the masses for which it has been the habit of Liberal politicians to contend. Having been denounced as an autocrat and chauvinist, his critics are now passing to the other extreme and describing him as a Liberal of the Liberals, as having yielded to the influence of his able mother, and as aspiring to more than carry out the schemes of his father.

There is, probably, as little foundation for these sweeping declarations in the one direction as there was in the other. The German Emperor, a man of the age, one who is convinced of the durability of that new Germany which was created by the men of blood and iron after Titanic struggles, and who has no misgivings about the present and the future, such as must beset those acquainted with the condition of the

Fatherland before Sadowa and Versailles, is content to work out his own destiny in his own way, and without the controlling advice of even the most experienced statesmen. And perhaps his Imperial mode of conducting affairs will be as agreeable to the German people as that to which they were accustomed under the despotic rule of the most self-assertive of Chancellors. It would be a mistake to suppose that because Bismarck is no longer at the helm, the affairs of Germany, or, to put it more plainly, of Prussia, are going to be less skilfully managed than formerly. The Prussian service is splendidly organised, and in Kaiser Wilhelm the Second it possesses a head of masterful and exceptional talent.

It is more difficult to see or to say what effect the administrative changes at Berlin will have on the external policy of Germany, and how far they will act adversely on the interests of this country. On the one hand, there seems little or no doubt that the Emperor is resolved on cementing his connection with Russia by means of a matrimonial alliance similar to that which proved such a bond of union in the days of his grandfather. This step must be inevitably attended by a closer union, and greater sympathy between the Courts and Cabinets of Berlin and St. Petersburg than has existed of late years, for although Bismarck made the *amende* to the Czar on his last visit to Berlin for his celebrated denunciation of Russian perfidy, the effect of that denunciation could not be obliterated so long as he held the seals of office. The marriage of the Emperor's sister to the future ruler of all the Russias is an indication that the long-expected and, as it was thought, imminent collision between Teuton and Slav forms no part of the German Emperor's programme, and that his policy, for the time at least, is to defer it. The serious question arising from this policy is how it can be reconciled with the interests of the other Powers. Russia will not abandon or delay her own schemes, and how and where is she to be propitiated? If in the Balkan peninsula, what compensation can be given to Austria? If

in Central Asia, what security or satisfaction can be offered to England, with which country the German Emperor has repeatedly expressed his desire of being on terms of special cordiality?

Considerations such as these make the retirement of Prince Bismarck—whose policy was known, and who might at least be trusted to act in accordance with his previous declarations—a cause of anxiety and uncertainty. The German Emperor, however, personifies the ideas of the present and the immediate future, and, in that sense, he may prove a more faithful exponent of the wishes of the Fatherland, and a more vigorous vindicator of its rights than even the late Chancellor. If we might hazard an opinion of our own, it is that the Emperor William has only one idea and guiding star in his political firmament, and that is to effect the overthrow of the powerful France which has risen on the wreck of France of 1870. There is no reason why Europe should not acquiesce in such a further trial of strength which, whether it take place this year or in the dim future, is inevitable between two rivals, who, if left to themselves, are fairly matched. If the contest could be fought out by them as it was in 1870-1, without violating Belgian neutrality, there is no reason why we or any other Power should be called on to take a side. But in order to bring about this desired consummation, it is essential that Germany should square Russia, and it is in that direction that we should be most on our guard; for the German ruler and his Government may fairly say that Central Asia is nothing to them, and that we whose interests alone are affected must take care of ourselves. • If no more intimate connection between European and Asiatic politics has been established than this, there is no contesting the fact that Germany might purchase Russian abstention in Europe by giving the Czar *carte blanche* in Asiatic Turkey and Central Asia. If we have guessed aright that the Kaiser's chief motive is to gain security on his western frontier—and for this no one can blame him—there is real danger that the price of his policy to the cost of

England may be further humiliation in Central Asia, and the securing of many practical advantages, and an improved position in that quarter of the world by Russia.

In that part of Central Asia where Russia is brought immediately into contact with Afghanistan, there is little or no change to chronicle. An alarming but baseless report was recently set on foot, that Ishak was preparing to invade Afghanistan at the head of a force armed with repeating rifles which could only be supplied by the Russian authorities. This was soon contradicted, and on better authority we learn that trade between Northern Afghanistan and Russia is showing marked signs of increase. It seems safe to assume that Russia has no present intention of attacking the Ameer or reviving the Penjdeh incident. In the meantime the Ameer himself remains at Mazar-i-Sherif, and his ulterior plans are still uncertain, although the probability is that he will forego his intended visit to Herat, and return to Cabul direct. The only fact of which we have any certain knowledge is satisfactory, for the Ameer has abandoned his intention—if he ever seriously entertained the project—of wasting his strength on an invasion of Kafiristan. Another matter gratifying to the Afghans and to ourselves is that the Ameer's eldest son, Habibullah, who was left in charge of Cabul, has shown distinctly administrative capacity. The great question, however, which is exercising Abdurrahman's mind is that of railways. Shall he allow their introduction into Afghanistan, or shall he oppose it and leave the solution of the difficulty to his successors? He will probably prepare his mind for deciding the point by visiting Candahar in the spring, and taking a perhaps surreptitious look at the works on our railway which has now reached Chaman in the Candahar plain. On the decision to which he comes will depend not merely the rapidity with which Afghanistan will be connected with our railway system, but also the exact course which that system will take in its western extension.

In the eastern half of the Asiatic continent affairs have

been rather more interesting than in the western. There can be no doubt that the Chinese are thoroughly aroused as to the possibility of Russian aggression in Manchuria. Councils have been held at Peking, and the course of a campaign for the defence of the Chinese frontier, and even for an attack on the Russian position, has formed the subject of much discussion among the leading ministers and officials of the Celestial Empire. This is the more remarkable as the Chinese have a very large and well-armed garrison in Manchuria, where even unfriendly critics have allowed that they could make a good stand against the Russians. If the Chinese Government were to contemplate reinforcing the garrisons of Moukden, Haylar, and Tsitsihar with a portion of the Peking garrison, or of Li Hung Chang's army, the conclusion to which most people would come, would be that the Celestials intended to assume the offensive on the outbreak of war, and endeavour to recover the great province of Maritime Manchuria, with the important port of Vladivostock, which was filched from them at the time of the foreign war of thirty years ago.

But if the Chinese are considering any such project, they must face the other side of the case, and realise that their success in the Amour region and on the Pacific must be accompanied by an overthrow in Central Asia, for, as the military position stands at present, the Russians could, without much difficulty, retake Kuldja, and possibly conquer Kashgar. In balancing up losses, no doubt Russia would lose a far more valuable territory, but at the same time, it would not be agreeable to the Chinese to incur a serious reverse in a quarter where they had been at such expense and trouble to recover what they had lost. For this reason it is not probable that the Chinese will be the first to move in the matter, and if there is aggression it seems probable that those to begin any attack must be the Russians. Of this there would not be any great probability but for the very confident assertions of the late General Przhevalsky as to the ease with which China could be conquered. These have been

adopted by a large section of Russian military men, who, not possessing any personal acquaintance with Central Asia, are content to adopt the views of one who had travelled so widely in that region and who had so carefully studied its history and peoples. They are consequently disposed to turn a deaf ear to the warnings of the Governor of the Amour territory, who represents China as being in a superior military position to Russia in Eastern Asia.

There is one point in connection with the rivalry of Russia and China that must not be lost sight of, and that is the part that Japan will play in it. That country unquestionably has not lost ground in Corea, and China is naturally very interested in the preservation under her sole influence of a country which has been called her "right arm of defence." Much as their interests are identical as against Russia, there seems no abatement in the old historical rivalry of China and Japan. The Chinese look upon the Japanese as islanders with no right on the mainland, and it is the great ambition of the Japanese to possess in Corea a position and authority equal to that of China. Hence there arises a constant source of danger to the amicable relations of these two Powers and the latest news from Corea, showing that the King is intent on asserting his independent authority, is far from encouraging for the future. As any contest in this quarter would partake of a naval character, it is of interest to learn that the works so long in progress at Port Arthur are at last completed, and that China is thus put in possession of the strongest and best equipped shipyard and naval arsenal in the Pacific.

With regard to our own relations with China, two matters of considerable importance have been amicably settled. In the first place, the new convention relating to Sikhim promises to put an end for all time to any possibility of disputes between us in that quarter of the Himalayan frontier, and, in the next place, the opening of the Upper Yangtsekiang to our trading vessels after long prevarication and delay is most satisfactory. The advantages that will

accrue to us from the latter concession have been admirably summed up in this Review by Mr. W. B. Dunlop. The settlement of these matters is of hopeful augury for the decision of the more important matter which still remains to be settled between England and China—viz., the delimitation of the frontier between Burmah and Yunnan. •

WE are indebted to Mr. J. D. Rees, Private Secretary to Lord Connemara, Governor of Madras, for the following interesting account of a visit to Cape Comorin:—"From the Himalayas to Cape Comorin" is a phrase we all know. Few, however, have been to the Cape, though many know the snowy mountains. From British Territory across to the land's end, the country is very beautiful. A row of tall sentinel palm trees on a sand ridge hides the sea; before the sand ridge umbrella trees stand in rows like gigantic green mushrooms. Right up to this, the green waves of rice flow, as if to dispute the empire of the other waves across the ridge, and scarce two hundred yards of sand in some places divide these opposing seas. On the west are the lovely hills of Travancore, where the bison and the elephant abound, or did, till the ruthless planter came; on the east and on the south is the ocean, hidden away behind the tall palmyrahs which stand like the advanced guard of mother earth to mark the slope beyond which the sea may not encroach. On the north; well, there is a great deal to the north, though a giant hill, from which local tradition says Hanuman, jumped over to Ceylon, shuts off the prospect, and bids you forget the many-peopled empire beyond. Since the days of Rama the summit of that hill has not been reached by aught save the ibex. The inhabitants here are chiefly fishermen and cultivators, dark-skinned and labouring Tamil people. The fair-skinned and lemon-tinted sons and daughters of the Western Coast are not found here. A few copper-coloured Brahmins are in fact as well as in name the lords of the earth, and to stock their granaries the sturdy, black pariahs toil all day in the sun. The women you see

are their wives and daughters, labourers like them, but scantily clad. The women of the Brahmins are not seen about at large, though near the villages you may see them drawing water, clothed in gay but never gaudy garments, and wearing golden ornaments, which flash in the morning sun as they carry home the big brazen vessel that seems all too heavy for their lissome waists. As you travel over the six miles that lie between the Cape and British territory the sanctity of the place begins to assert itself. You see a pilgrim who has lived for 20 years in a roadside resting-house. No one has cared to remember whence he came, and *he* has never spoken *since* he came. The odour of Sanctity is strong about this man—let us leave him to his silent contemplation of the deity, and wonder at what conclusions he arrives, while we look at the "Well of Milk," whose waters are ever thick and white like the product of the sacred cow and the "Honey Tank," whose waters are sweet, while all the others obtainable near are tainted with the breath of the sea. At last you come to a quiet little village on the rocky land's end, hidden till you get right into it by the boundary ridge of sand which centuries of waves have heaped up 'twixt land and sea. Near you is a Christian church of the Roman Mission, to show that the creed of Christ has spread from north to south through the length and breadth of the land, but beyond, on the land's end itself, and on a rock overhanging the foremost wave, to show that the old-world creed of the Hindu is still supreme, stands the temple of the Virgin Kunya Kumari, who gave the place its name. I will tell you her story as it was told to me. She was lovely and scornful, and a Princess, and her father, the King, who loved her dearer than his eyes, encouraged her in her scorn of her species, and built a fort some miles around and a pleasure garden within, that she might live without the burden of men's admiration. She grew up here, fancy free, to an age far beyond that at which Hindu girls should be wives of some years' standing, when the eldest son of a neighbouring King, whose love was too great to be stopped

by any walls (and the ruins of the fort show they were high and formidable ones in this case), came, saw, and conquered, and it was finally arranged that they should be married. Fate, however, willed it otherwise, and the bridegroom died suddenly, while his bride was waiting for him on the marriage day. Whereupon, she swore that he who had lost her, he only should win her, and dedicated herself to the service of God, not after the manner of Hindu female devotees of later date, but in all piety and resignation. She lived many years doing good; and when she died, this temple wherein she lived was dedicated to her memory, and since then her fame has spread over India, from all sides of which pilgrims come to worship at the shrine of the Virgin. It will serve to show how paradoxical the Hindus are—the Hindus concerning whom men generalise as though they were, one and all, simple Bœotians, that the deity this pure and holy virgin served was the cruel and repulsive Kali Ammah, the Goddess of Evil. The names of Goddess and of Virgin are so connected that it would be hard to say to which the pilgrim of to-day addresses his prayers.

Such is the legend of the place, and the street in front of the Temple is so holy that Europeans and low-caste Hindus are forbidden to walk therein.

Beyond the Temple, on the western side, is the bungalow of the Resident in Travancore, in front of which stretches the open sea. The sands here resemble rice and raggi, the two chief food grains of the people, and it is prettily fabled that they are, in fact, the remains of the wedding breakfast which were strewn along the shore of the melancholy sea by the disconsolate Rajah, sorrowing for his daughter's fate, and the interrupted nuptials:

Of the inhabitants, most are fishermen who have been Christians for two or three generations; others are Brahmins and their dependents. Hence it happens that at the most southern point in India, the Holy Virgin of the Christian faith is as well known as the Hindu Virgin who gave the place its name and fame, Cape Comorin.

Canalisation of Rivers in Siberia.

To judge from various articles in their journals of late, the Russians are awakening to the importance of binding together the eastern and western extremities of their empire by improved fluvial communication, while waiting for the accomplishment of the grand design of uniting St. Petersburg with Vladivostock by a line of rails: an event which does not seem probable within any measurable distance of time; though in the dim future its realisation is possible, if no great political or social catastrophe disturbs the dominions of the Czar. The general design is to utilise the waters of the four large rivers of Northern Asia, the Obi, the Yenissei, the Lena, and the Amour, together with their affluents, by means of lateral canals of junction. About six years ago the initiative was given to such a design, by beginning to cut a canal from the Ket to the Great Kass, affluents respectively of the Obi and Yenissei, and requiring but little labour to render their streams navigable. The chief difficulty consisted in equalising the levels of their beds, which vary considerably. This was to be done by constructing nine locks of different types and dimensions. Seven of these are now ready, but funds are not yet in hand to complete the two others. The works have been directed since their commencement in 1883 by a committee sitting at Tomsk; about two millions of roubles have been already expended, and for the continuation of the enterprise 325,000 roubles will be required this year. It has to be observed that the new water-way will not be navigable for large barques carrying more than 5,000 pouds of cargo (rather more than 80 tons), while during the spring freshets, boats carrying only one tenth of that amount will be able to avail themselves of it. These obstacles do not, however, proceed from the structure of the locks, but from the nature of the rivers themselves, the Great and the Little Kass and the Lomovataïa, which afford access only to boats of shallow draught. Frequent transhipments will therefore be

inévitabile. In order to avoid this inconvenience the constructors ask to be permitted to add two supplementary locks for the passage of larger craft, like those which navigate the Angara as far as Yenisseisk, along the whole course of the Obi-Yenissei. The urgency of this suggestion is said to be recognised by the Ministry of Roads and Ways, and a supplementary advance of 325,000 roubles has been promised for the purpose in 1891. The completion of the junction of the Obi and the Yenissei will, however, be only an auspicious inauguration of the scheme of river navigation in Siberia. The next step will be to enter upon the region of the Baikal, that huge inland sea connected with the Yenissei, by the latter's affluent, the Lesser Angara or Tonuguska. Upon leaving the lake this river is a torrent running at the rate of 30 versts (20 miles) an hour. Further down, where this rapid current diminishes, a series of cataracts extend from Bratsky-Ostrog to Irkutsk, a distance of 500 miles, the worst bits being at Schaman and Padonne. It is proposed to overcome these formidable impediments by works of two kinds : the destruction of the cataracts—chiefly, we presume, by blasting—and the construction of a canal skirting the most rapid parts of the river. The rendering of navigation practicable on the Angara is the more important, as upon it depends the junction of the fluvial system of the Yenissei with the Lena, and of the latter with the Amour. All these rivers are among the largest in the world, but their commercial value is almost nothing, owing to the isolation in which they stand towards one another. The success of the canal from the Obi to the Yenissei, the realisation of which seemed problematic at its inception, ought to encourage the government to develop and extend it, for by its accomplishment Siberia would be put in possession of an uninterrupted river communication throughout its entire length, and as far as the shores of the Pacific. It would form the principal artery of the Russian world, and give numerous lateral routes to the Northern Ocean, and strengthen immeasurably her military position on the Chinese frontier.

The Small Feet of Chinese Women.

THE origin of the perverse fashion of cramping and curtailing the feet of Chinese women still remains in dense obscurity, notwithstanding the vast ingenuity and learning focussed on the subject of late years, principally by German savants. In the pages of the writers of classic times we find no mention of the custom, from which it may fairly be deduced that it did not exist in the days of Confucius. Even Marco Polo, who travelled in China in the thirteenth century, does not write a single word concerning it, which, however, proves nothing either way; for the eminent Venetian was silent as to many things of the existence of which in China at that time there is now ample proof. The *North China Herald*, in treating the subject lately, has demonstrated with tolerable certainty that a whim of the eccentric and unpopular Emperor Li-yuh, who held his court in Nanking, was the originating cause of it. He reigned from A.D. 961 to 976, was conquered by Tschao-kuang-yin, the founder of the Jung dynasty, who at first kept him in honourable captivity, but finally got rid of him by poison. It would seem that Li-yuh, among other devices for killing time in the privacy of his palace, hit upon the idea of trying to improve the shape of his favourite dancing girl's feet. Without more ado he set about bending poor Yao Niang's foot, till it rose in an arch and resembled a new moon in outline. This monstrosity was considered quite admirable by the courtiers, who straightway introduced it into their families. In addition to this tradition there are many others, and among them that a wicked empress named Tan-ku, who had been born clubfooted, compelled her imperial spouse, in 1100 B.C., to publish an edict ordering all the female feet in the kingdom to be stunted after the imperial type. According to another version it is to the Emperor Yang-Te of the Suy dynasty, who flourished in 695 B.C., that the credit of the odious innovation is due. He is reported to have commanded the feet of his wife

P'wan to be tightly bandaged and enclosed in close-fitting shoes, upon the soles of which were stamped the effigy of a full-blown lotus, so that at each step she took an impression of this flower was left upon the ground, and it therefore became a popular saying that the golden lotus came forth wherever she trod. One hundred and fifty years^o ago, Du Halde, after careful investigation of the mysterious subject, declared it too puzzling for any man to elucidate, and we are not much more advanced at the present day. We have no evidence even of the reasons which led to the practice of thus cruelly distorting a human limb. Some weight however must be attached to the opinion of the distinguished anatomist, Welcker, who wrote a treatise on the subject about twenty years ago. In his general summing up he lays the blame pretty equally upon the idle vanity of the women, the stupid admiration of the men, and the despotism of a fashion once introduced and approved in high quarters, no matter how opposed it may be to either æsthetic or utilitarian laws. There is much difference to be remarked in the adoption of the custom as regards provinces and classes. It is an error to suppose that it obtains only among the great and wealthy, but it is only by them that it is adopted universally and carried to excess. In the north of China its sway is more undisputed than in the south. In the streets of Peking one rarely sees a woman walk with a natural gait, while in Canton and Macao examples are numerous. Among the Tartar women for the most part the Chinese fashion is repudiated, nor have the ladies of the present Manchu dynasty yielded to its baneful infatuation. Nor is its influence recognised among the Chinese population of the Sunda Isles. The operation of artificially crippling the action and diminishing the size of the foot is accomplished solely by tight swathing from the age of five or six years, and the long bands of linen are from time to time drawn tighter and tighter up to endurance point. The pain, discomfort, and manifold disadvantages incurred by the victims in the operation, and

more or less during their whole lives, make it a marvel that a people in anywise civilised can have tolerated it for so many centuries.

Projected Schemes of Colonisation in the Philippines.

DURING the past year a great number of plans for resuscitating the decaying prosperity of those eastern possessions of the Spanish monarchy have come to light both in the mother country and in the islands themselves. It must be said that the question has been examined and discussed from various points of view, and the different projects advocated from various motives, and supported by even conflicting arguments. Some of these propose the establishment of agricultural settlements, others are limited to the immigration of Annamite and other available Asiatic coolies. With regard to the former there reigns but little harmony among the projectors. Some are for turning the stream of Spanish emigrants, who have hitherto directed their steps towards Algiers and the La Plata regions, in the direction of the Philippines; others propose to establish convict settlements, like those of the French in New Caledonia; there are also not wanting persons in favour of mixed agricultural colonies, to consist of Europeans and the various castes born in the islands. Most of these projects have not emerged, and are not likely to emerge, from the stage of projects. A practical, or at least more definite, shape may, however, be ascribed to the proposals of Señor Canga-Arguelles, and to the Government scheme for creating a penal settlement in the Island of Mindoro. Canga Arguelles, a naval officer by profession, was for several years Governor of Puerto Princesa, and the southern half of the island of Palaman. His administration was admirable, and raised that portion of the Spanish possessions to a comparatively high state of prosperity. Since his retirement or dismissal from the post

in which he had proved so useful to the interests of his country and the colonists, he has never ceased his efforts at head-quarters in favour of the establishment of agricultural colonies in that island, notwithstanding its sinister reputation for insalubrity. In fact, he has succeeded so far in this object as to obtain a charter from the Government, and is, at this moment, on the scene of his former labours endeavouring to carry out his ideas. Professor Blumentritt, a well-known and well-informed authority in the affairs of the Philippines, has lately expressed, in the pages of the *Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient*, grave doubts as to the success of the energetic Ex-Governor, whose noble enthusiasm he considers underrates the difficulties which the tropical climate offers to the labour of the white man. The Philippines indeed form no exception to the general rule in this respect. Even if this isolated and particularly favoured undertaking should have some partial success, the Professor considers it inconceivable that the Spaniards should emigrate in large masses from Europe to the Philippines. It is not merely for the sake of earning a better living that the people emigrate to distant countries, but rather of fleeing from the political oppression which afflicts them in their native land. In the Philippines they have no prospect of bettering their condition, either in material welfare or by exemption from petty tyranny. The most fertile districts in the civilised provinces are already in the hands of those who cannot be expropriated; while in the heathen and Mohamedan territories they are exposed to the attacks of bloodthirsty savages or fanatical assassins. From a political point of view settlers in any of the islands of the Archipelago lose all the rights which to a man of the present day are as dear and precious as indispensable. He comes to a land which has no representation in the Cortes of the mother country, and where he must endure in silence every act of despotic authority at the hands of the officials and the priesthood, because there exists no free press, and no man dares

to murmur against the arbitrary decrees of those in favour, unless he sets no value on his personal freedom, and is willing to endanger his whole future career. Such an outlook cannot be alluring to men in search of further liberty than they enjoy at home. The Argentine and Uruguay republics, with their genial climate, are in any case much more likely to prove attractive. Professor Blumentritt has not a good word to say for the Governmental plan of a penal settlement in the island of Mindoro. He considers the idea a most unlucky one, for in addition to the disadvantages of climate as in Palaman, it is a well-known fact that the coasts of that island are inhabited by the civilised Tagales, and the interior by the peaceable, and even friendly, tribes of the heathen Manguianen. For both these native peoples it will surely be no blessing to set down in their midst as a veritable scourge the scum of the Spanish criminal population. The Spaniards are prone to speak of the prestige of their nation, which must, under all circumstances, be maintained, and yet they contemplate sending out as colonists the very worst offenders, who will certainly not contribute to their good name and fame. The greatest moral danger threatens the Manguianen, who have hitherto been luckily sheltered from the most vicious aspects of our civilisation. The worst class of ruffians will to a certainty desert and take refuge among the peaceful heathen. Whether these harmless people will remain uncontaminated by the influx, and the good name of Spain enhanced thereby, ought to be a question for the Government at Madrid. Although the above-mentioned and similar projects may come to shipwreck, yet their inception decidedly indicates that the long neglected Philippines are beginning to attract the attention of the mother country, and this is a fact to be hailed with the utmost satisfaction. It justifies a hope that these islands will cease to be regarded as the milch cow of home-bred officials and parliamentary parasites, and that a wise course of legislation will secure the love and loyalty of the inhabitants, who alone are a menace to the Spanish supremacy.

A Russian Opinion of an Invasion of India.

As so many Englishmen are lulled to sleep in believing that Russia has no intention of attacking India, the following criticism on Sir Charles Dilke's last great work by a well-known Russian journalist deserves preservation in our pages:—"No matter what lines of defence England may raise, no matter what number of troops she may concentrate on her Indian frontier, ultimate success is certain to rest with Russia. The combined triumphs of England and China on the side of the Pacific could not make up for defeat on the Indus, which, even on the author's own showing, would prove fatal to English Supremacy. . . . Relying upon Russia's humiliation by the European Powers, English statesmen have brought things to such a pass that the two-headed eagle is now flying over Penjdeh. Yet a little while, and by the storm of Herat we shall put a pistol to the heart of England's international position. Englishmen will then have to change their tactics; they will hasten to take Candahar and Djellalabad, which, according to Sir Charles Dilke, they have long ago resolved upon doing. . . . In the conviction that our Central Asian frontier line is defined and fixed, England sees a guarantee that it is immovable and a sure pledge of India's safety. They are convinced—Sir Charles Dilke's book contains the proof of this—that under the conditions actually prevailing we are not in a position to undertake a campaign against India, and this belief gives them courage to join alliances inimical to Russia, and to act openly against us in Bulgaria. . . . It is permitted to affirm that England's love of peace is proportional to our proximity to her Indian frontier and to the force with which we press against it. . . . The Vistula, the Bosphorus and Herat are the three apices of the Russian triangle which reciprocally act and react upon each other. Englishmen continue stubbornly the unequal struggle simply because they are awaiting the result of the strife at the two points opposite to Herat. If Russia triumphs, their policy will undergo

a radical change: they will then unite their railways with ours, and endeavour by every means in their power to strengthen their friendship with Russia, in whom they will recognise the surest basis of their own position."

The Mines of Persia.

A FULL and interesting account of the Mines of Persia appeared in the *Times* of 10th April. Among other facts of importance it mentions that the Imperial Bank of Persia has undertaken to have a road constructed from Teheran to the Karun river, with a branch to Ispahan, on conditions which appear to be exceedingly favourable. The most important of those conditions is that the Shah will allow caravanserais to be built along the road at intervals of about 15 miles, and that a plot of land will be granted to the Bank at each caravanserai. Without much stretch of imagination it can be foreseen that each of these allotments may become the nucleus of a flourishing village or even town.

It also goes on to say that the mineral wealth of Persia has long been known to those acquainted with the literature bearing on the subject, but the real extent of its vast resources in this direction has only of late years been made apparent. In 1865 Dr. Polak, a German, who, after several years of careful study and investigation in the country, wrote an authoritative work on Persia, stated that the wealth of that country in coal, iron, and copper, was unbounded, and that hardly any portion of the earth could vie with Persia in mineral richness. As Dr. Polak's work is not well known in England, we may quote his exact words:—

"The unbounded wealth of the country in coal, iron, and copper deposits only awaits exploration in order to set on foot a mighty industry for which the industrious character and aptitude of the labouring class seem to offer every inducement. . . Scarcely any country of the earth can vie

with Persia as to riches in metals, especially copper. Nearly every district has its copper mine ; on the northern slope of the Elburz, near Teheran, 20 such can be counted, and as many more in the environs of Kazvin. Lead is mined to such an extent that the demand for it in the country is amply supplied, and also a surplus left for export. The greater portion of the lead ore is found near Kerman. . . . Coal, which generally lies exposed in vast seams, is not up to now mined, owing to the want of roads and the absence of demand for industrial purposes. The seam upon the northern slope of the Elburz, near Teheran, appears already below Kazvin at the village of If, then shows itself in the Laar Valley, especially in a hollow of the latter called Divasia, and lastly makes itself visible near the small town of Ash on the river Heras. Altogether the coal formation is very abundantly represented.

A Gallant Native Indian Officer.

SIR,—I have read with great interest the article on the officering of our Native Army in India, in the last number of the ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, and should like your readers to know that the Gurkha Subahdar referred to at page 129 is Subahdar Kishenbir of the 5th Gurkhas, who is at present at Abbottabad with the regiment. The Subahdar has received the "Order of Merit" no less than *four times*, each time winning it by an act of magnificent bravery, a feat which my son, Lieutenant Lethbridge, of the same regiment, believes to be "quite unparalleled in military history."

Yours obediently,

ROPER LETHBRIDGE.

House of Commons, March 24th, 1890.

REVIEWS.

English Intercourse with Siam.

DR. ANDERSON has written a most interesting book relating to the early intercourse of Englishmen with Siam—a country with which we first began to trade as far back as the year 1611. [“English Intercourse with Siam in the Seventeenth Century,” by JOHN ANDERSON, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S. With Map. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1890.)] It will probably be a surprise to those who fancied that our first appearance in Siam was at the time of the Bowring mission, to learn that nearly three hundred years ago we possessed on the Mekong, and in Siamese Malaya, factories, and a definite, if not diplomatic, position with regard to the rulers of the country. Yet that such was the case will be learnt from Dr. Anderson's careful and elaborate description of the visits of the good ships *Globe*, *Sea Adventure*, and *Tywan*, of the fortunes of the factories at Ayuthia, Patani, and Mergui, and of the efforts of such men as George White, Richard Burnaby, and Constant Phaulkon. The reader will be struck with one thing, and that is the singularly blundering way our representatives went to work to maintain and improve their position in an Asiatic kingdom. The history of our early relations shows that we had no definite object before us, and that the English merchants had only the expectation of gain in their minds, and that they regarded everything done by the King and Ministers of Siam, in accordance with their view of the privileges of a sovereign state, which threatened to delay or qualify the attainment of their ends as an unjustifiable proceeding. The serious error of this mode of reasoning was that it irritated the Siamese officials, and resulted in the exclusion of English

traders from the country for a period of quite two centuries. The fault does not seem to have been confined to Englishmen. All the European traders appear to have shared it in common, and although Louis the Fourteenth sent two formal and imposing embassies to the Mekong, the French were not able to extract any permanent advantage from what was at the time a very costly and elaborate effort. The story has been told before, but Dr. Anderson has succeeded in investing with fresh interest the visits of the Chevalier de Chaumont and M. de la Loubère to the Siamese capital at the close of the seventeenth century. It is creditable to the skill of French diplomacy, but it points to the conclusion that there was little or no vitality in French commerce. The solid result of the laborious effort of the Grande Monarque was the addition of two or three interesting books of travel to the limited library relating to Siam and Indo-China. The English traders without the countenance of their government effected a more practical work. They founded and maintained for years, in face of great difficulty, factories at Ayuthia and Patani, which served to show that trade with Siam could be carried on under profitable conditions. By great personal labour Dr. Anderson has unearthed from the contemporary records all the essential facts relating to the fortunes of those factories, and he has woven out of these materials one of the most interesting volumes ever published about early English enterprise in Asia.

Russia.

AMONG the many interesting volumes which constitute the admirable and useful series known as the "Story of the Nations," Mr. Morfill's summary of the history of Russia is entitled to a high place. ["Russia," by W. R. MORFILL, M.A. (London: T. Fisher Unwin.)] Fortunate in his subject, Mr. Morfill has spared no pains to make the interesting and

striking deeds of Russian history clear and connected to the English reader who is only beginning to pay the attention they merit to the achievements of Ivan the Terrible, Peter the Great, and Catherine the Second. Although the youngest among the European communities, Russia occupies such a large place in the eyes of the world, and must take such a great part in working out its destiny, that the history of how it emerged from a condition of Asiatic barbarism, and took its position in the family of civilised nations, is one of the most important that an English reader can study. Mr. Morfill's pages will make that study as simple and pleasant as the most exacting reader could require. He will get not merely a vivid, but an accurate idea of the great reigns and principal conquests effected by Czars and Czarinas. He will see how the Grand Duchy of Moscow steadily expanded into an Empire of $8\frac{1}{2}$ million square miles, and more than a hundred millions of people. He is provided with a graphic picture of such heroic episodes as the repulse and pursuit of the Grande Armée and the defence of Sebastopol. But Mr. Morfill treats of many other branches of his subject, besides acts of war. Three of the most interesting chapters in the volume are those relating to the internal reforms of Alexander the Second, Russian literature, and the social condition of Russia before and after Peter the Great. Mr. Morfill claims the credit of writing from original sources, and his work may be confidently recommended to those who wish to obtain some trustworthy information about a country and people with which England and Englishmen must have increasing relations. If the "Series" of which this constitutes the latest volume had not already justified its existence, Mr. Morfill's "Russia" would have attracted public attention to the deserts of these interesting works on the most important states and nations of the world.

Aryan Sun Myths.

THE author of this little work ["Aryan Sun Myths, the Origin of Religions," with an Introduction by CHARLES MORRIS. (London: Trübner & Co.)] enjoys one great advantage in having as an introducer Mr. Charles Morris, the author of "The Aryan Race." The object of the writer is to show that the sun-myths of the ancient Aryans were the origin of the religions in all of the countries which were peopled by the Aryans. He makes no claim to originality, and states that all he has done is to condense what he has obtained from other works, of which a list is given. The author may be complimented on making a very successful effort to popularise a difficult and not over attractive subject, and at least he has succeeded in showing how many of the special doctrines associated with Christianity formed part of the religious belief of our earliest ancestors.

The Adventure Series.

As the first volume of what he calls "The Adventure Series," Mr. T. Fisher Unwin, of Paternoster Square, has issued EDWARD JOHN TRELAWNY's "Adventures of a Younger Son," with an Introduction by Mr. EDWARD GARNETT. The idea of the series is to republish in an improved form standard works which have been either forgotten, or are long out of print, and which are characterised by a spirit of adventure, or by deeds bordering on the romantic. No work could be more characteristic of this class of book than Trelawny's, and its literary merits are such that it will be welcome to a large number of readers. As a mere record of marvellous adventure the career of the younger son, who, in the main, may be identified with Trelawny himself, the friend and associate of Byron and Shelley, surpasses fiction. It should find a wider popularity among boys of the present generation than it found among those of the past, and its verisimilitude heightens rather than detracts

from its merits. If "The Adventure Series" can be composed throughout of volumes equal in excitement and literary pretensions to Trelawny's "Adventures of a Younger Son," its popularity and success are assured.

The Indian Mutiny.

THE sixth and concluding volume of the Cabinet Edition of Kaye and Malleson's "History of the Indian Mutiny" has been published during the quarter by Messrs. W. H. Allen & Co., of Waterloo Place, thus bringing within the reach of a much wider public the best and most complete account of one of the most severe and tragic crises in our national history. We have so often expressed our opinion of the merits of what was a most difficult work to write, that we could not avoid repeating ourselves if we were to enter upon details. We entirely agree with Colonel Malleson that "no harder task was ever suddenly thrown upon a nation than that cast upon the British in 1857," and with him we even cherish a belief that no other people in the world would have succeeded in suppressing the rising as we did. It is, consequently, most desirable from the point of view of national education that every Englishman should be well informed of the main thread and salient incidents of what was a memorable and Titanic struggle, and that information is admirably imparted by the late Sir John Kaye and Colonel Malleson.

The Rulers of India.

It is a little surprising that no publisher or writer has thought of supplying the English reader with a brief account of the deeds and policies of the Governor-Generals and

Viceroy of British India. Sir William Wilson Hunter has taken up a portion of the task in his "Rulers of India" series, which aims at giving a very graphic and authentic account of the chief epochs and turning-points in the history of India. To quote Sir William's own description of the scope of this series, he says: "The leading idea in these volumes is to present a series of historical retrospects, rather than of formal biographies. Each little book takes some conspicuous epoch in the making of India, and under the name of its principal personage sets forth the problems which he had to encounter, the work which he achieved, and the influences which he left behind." Sir William Hunter has drawn up a very interesting looking programme of 14 volumes, for which the co-operation of a competent body of writers has been obtained, and he leads off the series with a brilliantly written account of the life and work of that able ruler of men, the Marquis of Dalhousie. ["Rulers of India." The Marquis of Dalhousie, by Sir W. W. HUNTER, K.C.S.I. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1890.)] Our space will only permit us to say that Sir William has written a very remarkable and excellent volume, and that, if the succeeding volumes come up to the level of the first, the "Rulers of India" will prove a valuable as well as an attractive addition to the popular sources of information on the subject of Indian history.

Tales of the Sun.

MRS. HOWARD KINGSCOTE has collected in these volumes a number of Indian tales, most of which relate, apparently, to the southern half of the peninsula. ["Tales of the Sun, or Folklore of Southern India," collected by Mrs. HOWARD KINGSCOTE and PANDIT NATESI SASTRI. (London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1890.)] She expresses her great indebtedness to Pandit Natesi Sastri for the assistance he gave her in

correcting the tales which were brought to her by her native servants, who, in turn, obtained them from the old women in the bazaars. The tales, if not possessing much interest or attractiveness for the English reader, tell us, at least, a good deal about Hindoo folklore, and Mrs. Kingscote deserves credit for having taken the trouble to place on record some curious stories that have passed current for generations among the Tamil population of southern India.

* * *Authors are responsible for the spelling of Asiatic names.*

F.D. A. Q. R.

